

## Curriculum Vitae: Brendan O'Leary

Lauder Professor of Political Science University of Pennsylvania

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**CITIZENSHIP:** Irish (& European Union) & US citizen.

### PROFESSIONAL ACADEMIC CAREER

#### University of Pennsylvania (2002-)

2003-                      Lauder Professor of Political Science

2002-3                      Stanley I. Sheerr Endowed Term Chair in the Social Sciences

#### London School of Economics & Political Science (1983-2003)

2000-2001                      Academic Governor (elected)

1998-2001                      Chair (Convenor) of the Government Department (elected)

1996-2002                      Professor of Political Science

1983-1996                      Reader (1992), Senior Lecturer (1990), Tenured (1988), Lecturer (1983).

### EDUCATION

#### Doctorate: London School of Economics & Political Science

PhD Political Science 1988. Winner of the Robert McKenzie Memorial Prize for best thesis in Political Science.

Thesis examiners: Professors Ernest Gellner (Cambridge) & Nicos Mouzelis (LSE).

#### Bachelors: Oxford University, Keble College

BA:              Philosophy, Politics and Economics, First Class Honors, 1981. Open Scholarship, 1977-81.

#### High School:      St MacNissi's College, Northern Ireland

3 GCE Advanced Levels, 1976. 11 GCE Ordinary Level subjects, 1973-5.

**Primary Schools:** Multiple in Kaduna, Nigeria; Strawberry Hill/Sunday's Well School, Cork, Ireland, and Cloughey & Eden Primary Schools, Northern Ireland.

### SIGNIFICANT HONORS, PRIZES AND CERTIFICATES

2023. Winner of the Brian Farrell Prize of the Political Studies Association of Ireland for the best book in Political Science in 2022, received in Belfast, October 2023.

Honorary Doctorate of Arts University College Cork May 2023.

2002 Principal Address, Machnamh 100: President of Ireland Centenary Reflections, May 19.

2021 Fulbright Fellow to Ireland, National University of Ireland-Galway, 2021-22.

2021- Honorary Professor of Political Science, Queen's University Belfast

2020 Winner of the James S. Donnelly Sr Prize for the 2019 best book in History and Social Science, for a *Treatise on Northern Ireland* (Vols I-III), American Conference of Irish Studies.

2017 ENMISA Distinguished Scholar Lifetime Achievements Award of the International Studies Association.

2016 Elected Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts and Letters

2016 Elected Honorary Member of the Royal Irish Academy

2016 Elected Member Council on Foreign Relations (US)

2016 International Distinguished Fellow, The Senator George J. Mitchell Institute, Global Peace, Security and Justice, Queen's University Belfast (2016-)

2015 Member of Ireland's Inaugural Foreign Policy Network

2014 Inaugural Winner of Juan Linz Prize of the International Political Science Association for life-time contributions to the study of federalism, democratization, and ethnic conflict.

2010 Harrison Prize, Political Studies Association, co-author of best article in Political Studies 2009 with G. Evans and P. Mitchell.

2003 Honorary MA University of Pennsylvania

1988 Robert McKenzie Memorial Prize for best PhD in Political Science at LSE.

1982 European Consortium for Political Research Summer School on Data Analysis, Essex University.

- 1978 President of the Junior Common Room, Keble College, Oxford (elected twice), 1978-79.
- 1977 Open Scholarship, Oxford University (Keble College), 1977-81.
- 1977 Production Management Course certified, Northern Ireland Manpower Services.
- 1976 Winner of the Joint Association of Classical Teachers Prize for 1st Place in Ancient History in Northern Ireland.
- 1975 Winner Best Individual Speaker, Irish Times & Trinity College, Dublin University, All-Ireland Schools Debating Competition.
- 1976 Co-winner Queen's University Belfast/Northern Bank Northern Ireland Schools Debating Competition (Pairs competition).

## **TEACHING & SUPERVISION**

### **PhD**

Theses: Supervised 25 completed PhDs at the LSE.  
 Committee Chair or Committee Member for 8 completed PhD dissertations at U Penn; 1 in progress.

External Examiner of 14 PhD theses at Oxford University, London School of Economics & Political Science, King's College, London (2), the National University of Ireland: UCD, Dublin City University (2), Queen's University Belfast, University of Ulster, University of Toronto, McGill University, Southern Cross Australia, & Sciences Po (Institut d'études politiques de Paris).

PhD Repertoire of courses taught at Penn:

Nationalism and Ethnic Politics; Secessions and Partitions; National and Ethnic Conflict Regulation; Federal Failures and Successes; Genocide and Ethnic Expulsion; The Politics of Contemporary Iraq; The Government and Politics of Sudan and Iraq; Great Books in Comparative Politics; Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places; Learning to be an Academic.

Current taught course: Psci 5991. Territorial Restructuring: Partitions, Secessions, Annexations & Unifications

Numerous Independent Courses supervised.

### **MA/MSc**

Penn: Intermittent Supervision of MLA and MA dissertations

LSE: MSc Program Convenor Comparative Politics (1994-8): Comparative Politics: National & Ethnic Conflict Regulation; States, Democracy & Democratization; Nations, Nationalism, & National Self-Determination; Government & Politics of Ireland.

MSc Public Policy: Comparative Administrative Systems, Theories of the State and Policy-Making, Administrative Theories, Organization Theory.

### **BA/BSc**

Penn: Numerous Honors Theses and Independent Courses.

Current repertoire of taught courses:

Psci 4100 Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places (Senior Benjamin Franklin Scholars Seminar)

Psci 1171/7911 The European Union: Arguments & Evidence (Lecture Course)

Past courses:

National and Ethnic Conflict Regulation, National and Ethnic Conflict in Great Britain and Ireland. National, Ethnic and Communal Conflict, Introduction to Political Science, Nationalism and National Self-Determination, Introduction to Comparative Politics.

LSE: Introduction to Political Analysis, Nations and Nationalism, Voters, Parties and Electoral Systems, Modern Politics and Government with special reference to the UK, Comparative Political Analysis

## **ADMINISTRATIVE ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE**

Penn

Chair (elect) Political Science Department, University of Pennsylvania, July 2024-June 2026

Director of the University of Pennsylvania Program in Ethnic Conflict, 2007-10.

Director of the Solomon Asch Center for the Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict, 2002-7.

Committees, Penn 2002-: Committee on Undergraduate Research Fellowships (CURF: Marshall, Mitchell, Rhodes, Gaither), Member of the Executive Committee of the Middle East Center, Political Science Faculty Search Committees, Research Evaluation Committees, Bylaws Review Committee, SAS Undergraduate Education

Committee, Fels Institute Advisory Committee, Provost's Committee to advise on international speakers, Penn Humanities Forum, Senate Executive Committee, University Council (including Steering and Committee on Committees).

#### LSE

Head (Covenor or Chair) of the Government Department, LSE, elected 1998-2001, responsible for academic leadership in research, appointments, mentoring, personnel planning, and the budget, REF preparation.

Academic Governor (elected), Member of Governing Council of LSE, 2000-1.

Suntory and Toyota Centre for International Economics and Related Disciplines, LSE, Planning Committee (1995-); co-responsible for allocation of grants and holding officers of STICERD to account.

Academic Staff Development Officer, LSE (1992-95): development of programs for tenure-track staff as researchers, teachers and administrators.

Committees (including Committee on Open Expression), LSE: Standing Subcommittee on Appointments, Information Systems and Planning Information Technology, Publications, Undergraduate Studies and Accommodation

EU Erasmus Programs LSE: Coordinator for MSc and BSc programs in the Government Department

#### PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

American Political Science Association

Association for the Study of Nationalities

International Political Science Association

International Studies Association

Irish Political Studies Association.

#### EXTENDED VISITS TO OTHER UNIVERSITIES

Fulbright Fellow to Ireland—NUI-Galway, 2021-22

Queen's University Belfast Visiting Professor of Political Science, (2012-16); World Leading Researcher Visiting Professor of Political Science (2017-20); Honorary Professor of Political Science (2022-)

International Distinguished Fellow, The Senator George J. Mitchell Institute, Global Peace, Security and Justice, Queen's University Belfast (2016-)

National University of Ireland-Galway: Moore Humanities Fellow (2014)

University of Pennsylvania, Visiting Professor of Political Science (2001-2)

University of Western Ontario, Canada Visiting Professor of Public Policy (1995-96)

Central European University, Fellow Center for the Study of Nationalism (1995)

Universities of Western Ontario and Waterloo, Visitor (1994)

University of Uppsala, Sweden, Visiting Research Scholar (1991)

Visiting Lecturer, Sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, to visit eight universities and colleges (1991)

#### NATIONAL & INTERNATIONAL EXTERNAL ACADEMIC EXPERIENCE

Member of the Governing Authority, University College Cork, nominated by the Government of Ireland, 2023-27.

Fulbright National Screening Committee (US) for US Students 2018-20

Appointments Panel for the President of the University of Kurdistan-Hêwler 2009

The Kurdish Political Studies Initiative Advisory Board, University of Central Florida, Orlando, 2009-

International Social Sciences & Historical Research Board of Ireland (2007-9), External assessor, 2011-

Advisory Council of the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, 1999-2001.

External Examiner of BA/BSc and MA degrees at University College Dublin (1997-9); University of Edinburgh (1997-9); and Dublin City University (1994-7).

#### EDITORIAL & INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD MEMBERSHIPS (in alphabetical order)

ARINS, Founding member, Steering Committee 2019-, Chair of Public Opinion Committee

DEMOCRATIYA, Editorial Advisory Board, 2007-10

ETHNIC AND RACIAL STUDIES, Editorial Board and Committee, 1989-97

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF DIVERSITY IN ORGANIZATIONS, COMMUNITIES & NATIONS, International Advisory Board, 2003-

ICELANDIC REVIEW OF POLITICS AND ADMINISTRATION, 2012-

IRISH INFORMATION PARTNERSHIP, 1989-91

IRISH POLITICAL STUDIES, 1993-

IRISH STUDIES IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 2018-

JEMI (Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe), International Editorial Board, 2002-

JOURNAL OF ETHNOPOLITICS, now ETHNOPOLITICS, International Editorial Board, 2001-

NATIONALISM AND ETHNIC POLITICS, Editorial Advisory Board, 2005-  
NATIONS AND NATIONALISM, International Advisory Board, 1994-2003  
NATIONALITIES PAPERS, Advisory Board, 2009-  
PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES Editorial Advisory Board, 2002-  
PENN JOURNAL OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, 2007-  
TOM LANTOS INSTITUTE, Budapest, Hungary, International Advisory Board Member  
THE STUDENT STRATEGY & SECURITY JOURNAL, Academic Advisory Council (U of Glasgow), 2023-

#### **JOURNAL EDITOR**

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION, Jt. Editor, 1988-89  
LSE QUARTERLY, Co-editor, 1988-89  
POLITICS, Commissioning Editor & Editorial Board, 1985-88

#### **CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL ADVISORY WORK**

UNITED NATIONS: Senior Advisor on Power-Sharing, Member of the Standby Team of the Mediation Support Unit, United Nations, 2009-10 (on leave from the University of Pennsylvania), engaged on multiple assignments, including to Sudan, Nepal, Kyrgyzstan, and to Doha for the Darfur peace process. Subsequent formal and informal relations with the Mediation Support Unit of the UN, e.g., chairing a seminar of the General Assembly on Mediation in 2011.

EUROPEAN UNION. 2015: Consultant to ERMES-International Alert, Brussels Workshop on a Middle East state.

EUROPEAN UNION and UNITED NATIONS: Consultant to EU-UN project on Reconstructing Somalia (1995-9), specific responsibility for sections on power-sharing, federalism, human rights, and electoral systems. Co-drafter of Constitutional Charter for the State of Puntland, Somalia.

CARTER CENTER. 2018: Pro-bono advisory work related to power-sharing and negotiations in Middle East.

CHATHAM HOUSE Initiative to Sudan, 2009-10: promoting peaceful dialogue and negotiation between the Governments of Sudan and South Sudan before the January 2011 referendum.

KURDISTAN-IRAQ. International constitutional advisor to the Kurdistan National Assembly and Kurdistan Regional Government, intermittently since 2003: responsible for advising on constitutional reconstruction of Iraq and Kurdistan (2004-9), with special responsibility for federal arrangements and electoral laws, and an advisor to the KRG in the drafting of the Transitional Administrative Law (2004), the making of Iraq's permanent constitution (summer 2005); and subsequently on power-sharing arrangements, electoral laws, Kurdistan's draft regional constitution, the rights of nationalities and religious communities, and Kurdistan's Oil & Gas Law.

INTERNATIONAL ALERT Member of the Board of Trustees (London), 2005-11. International Alert is a London-based NGO that is an independent peacebuilding organization working to lay the foundations for lasting peace and security in communities affected by violent conflict.

DFID Consultant to Department of International Development (UK), responsible for advising on power-sharing, coalition formation and electoral systems, Nepal, 2007

DFID Consultant Department of International Development (UK), responsible for advising on the management of coalition governments, KwaZulu Natal, Republic of South Africa, 2000-1

IRISH PEACE PROCESS ACTIVITIES: Advisor to Dr. Marjorie Mowlam MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, and to Dr. Kevin McNamara MP, Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (1987-1996/7), on all matters affecting constitutional politics, and proposed power-sharing arrangements. Advisor to Americans promoting peace in Ireland (1993-2001). Author of multiple constitutional and policy memoranda to Parties and Governments (1994-2006). Submission to the Independent Commission on Decommissioning (Chair: Senator George Mitchell), October 1995, with J. McGarry; Submission to Patten Commission, with J. McGarry, meeting with Mr. Patten, testimony on Patten Report to the Helsinki Commission before the US House of Representatives (1998-2000). Guest at the US White House (March 17 1998, May 24-26 1995, March 17 1994). Occasional participant in the British-Irish Association (1990-). 2019- Member of the Ad Hoc Committee in Defense of the Good Friday Agreement (United States). Founding member of ARINS (Analyzing and Researching Ireland, North and South), a joint initiative of the Royal Irish Academy and the University of Notre Dame

JOHN & PAT HUME FOUNDATION, International Board Member, 2021-

### **BROADCASTING AND JOURNALISM**

Regular broadcaster for BBC Radio 4's Analysis program (1992-2000), highlights included being a presenter and writer of 10 radio documentaries (see below).

Regular broadcaster on British, Irish, American, European, and Japanese networks, especially on British, Irish, and Kurdish politics, including the following networks in:

The UK: BBC (all units), ITN, Channel 4, BSkyB and multiple local stations

Ireland: RTE and local stations; &

The US: ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Voice of America, WHYY-NPR, Business Radio: Wharton

Other international: ABC (Aus), CBC (Can), NHK and multiple European networks.

Co-presenter of Iraq 2020, for NEWSNIGHT, BBC 2, London, March 19 2007. Witness and submitter of evidence for the Iraq Commission, CHANNEL 4, June & July 2007.

Organized design and commissioning of an UMS opinion poll for NEWSNIGHT BBC 2, May 1996 (with Geoffrey Evans).

Numerous op-eds and articles for newspapers and magazines (see below), including in alphabetical order DISSENT (New York), FINANCIAL TIMES (London), FORTNIGHT (Belfast), GLOBE & MAIL (Canada), GUARDIAN (London), IL SOL-24 ORE (Italy), INDEPENDENT (London), IRISH INDEPENDENT (Dublin), IRISH NEWS (Belfast), IRISH TIMES (Dublin), LOS ANGELES TIMES, PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE, PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER, SCOTSMAN, (Edinburgh), SUNDAY BUSINESS POST (Dublin), SUNDAY PRESS (Dublin), SUNDAY TRIBUNE (Dublin), WASHINGTON TIMES.

One of the subjects of Royal Irish Academy and Yellow Asylum Films documentary series "THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING IRISH" (broadcast as "The Irish Mind" in the United States), directed by Alan Gilson 2008.

Participant in "The Hunger," Tyrone Productions, RTE (Ireland), two-part documentary on the Great Famine

Investigator and co-presenter of 'Northern Ireland,' The Big Picture Show, October Films, CHANNEL 4, July 1992.

GUARDIAN Celebrity Scholar, June 18 1996.

### **CURRENT RESEARCH INTERESTS**

Founding member and Steering Committee member of ARINS: Analyzing & Researching Ireland: North & South. Chair of its public opinion sub-committee

Empirical conflict research: Kurdish nationalism, Iraq's federalization; the breakup of Sudan; The Irish peace process & the prospects of Irish reunification

European "national questions."

Comparing German unification with possible Irish reunification

Power-sharing, especially in consociations, confederations, pluralist federations, and multi-party coalitions.

Secessions and partitions, annexations, and unifications.

The Crises of the European Union & the United Kingdom; the implications of UKEXIT.

Nationalism; national and ethnic conflict-regulation; national self-determination; national, ethnic, and communal violence in Africa and Eurasia

Constitutional design debates.

Democracy, democratization, and electoral systems.

### **RECENT GRANTS/FELLOWSHIPS SINCE 2000**

**2022** Chair of ARINS public opinion committee, conducting surveys and focus groups on Ireland, North and South, (with J. Garry, J. Doyle, J. Todd, J. McEvoy, D. Walsh) co-funded by the Royal Irish Academy and the University of Notre Dame Keough-Naughton Institute and the Irish Times (total costs approx. €100,000 per annum). Co PI with Professor John Garry QUB. Year 1: 2022; Year 2: 2023; Year 3: 2024.

Funding from the UK's ESRC (approximately £50,000 (GB) was for a survey on the NI Assembly elections of 2022. J. Garry QUB PI.

**2021** Fulbright Fellowship to Ireland: National University of Ireland-Galway €35,000

**2017-21** Queen's University Belfast, World Leading Researcher and Visiting Professor (1/5<sup>th</sup> FTE of a full professor)

**2016-** Co-participant/co-applicant in numerous deliberative forum and survey grants for which J. Garry (QUB) has been the Principal Investigator.

- 2014** Moore Humanities Visiting Research Fellowship, University of Galway, Ireland, (2014), €3,000.
- 2012** Stern School of Law Fellowship, New York University, \$120,000, offered 2012, declined.
- 2012-16** Queen's University Belfast, visiting professorship (May-June 2012-16). 1/5<sup>th</sup> FTE of a full professor)
- 2007-8** Sawyer-Mellon funded Seminar Series (\$120,000), seminar on Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places, hosted at the University of Pennsylvania, 2007-2008.
- 2006** McGill University – for conference on “Size Matters: Homogeneity, heterogeneity, Economic Performance and Civil War,” April 2006
- 2006** MacArthur Grant – for Conference on Managing Ethnic Conflicts in Africa, at the Asch Center, February 2006
- 2002** Rockefeller Foundation Residential Fellowship Bellagio, Italy, September-October 2002.

#### **NGOs**

2016-20 President of the Kurdistan Museum Foundation (US), charity  
 2005-11 Trustee International Alert (London)

#### **REFEREE**

Book manuscripts: Among others

University Presses: Bristol University Press, Cambridge University Press, Cork University Press, Edinburgh University Press, Harvard University Press, Johns Hopkins University Press, Oxford University Press, Yale University Press  
 Academic Publishers: de Gruyter, Irish Academic Press, Lexington Books. Lynne Reiner, Macmillan-Palgrave, Routledge.

For journals:

Acta Politica, American Political Science Review, British Journal of Political Science, British Journal of Politics and International Relations, British Journal of Sociology, Comparative Politics, Comparative Political Studies, Democratization, Economics & Business Letters, Electoral Studies, Ethnic & Racial Studies, Ethnopolitics, European Journal of Political Research, Government and Opposition, Historical Journal, Historical Materialism, Journal of Conflict Resolution, Journal of Levantine Studies, Journal of Peace Research, International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, International Political Science Review, International Security, Irish Political Studies, Irish Studies in International Affairs, Middle East Journal, Political Quarterly, Publius, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, Nations & Nationalism, Political Studies, Publius, Review of International Studies, Review of Politics, Public Administration, Social Problems, Swiss Political Science Review, Terrorism & Political Violence, West European Politics, World Politics

For Irish, UK, European and US research foundations, councils, fellowships, and academies.

## PUBLICATIONS

### 30 BOOKS & COLLECTIONS (6 SINGLE-AUTHORED, 12 CO-AUTHORED; 12 EDITED OR CO-EDITED).

1. Dunleavy, Patrick and B. O'Leary. *Theories of the State: The Politics of Liberal Democracy*. London and New York: Macmillan and Meredith Press, 1987. [Reprinted eight times, and translated into numerous languages including Chinese, Arabic, Lithuanian, Hungarian and Romanian]
2. O'Leary, B. *The Asiatic Mode of Production: Oriental Despotism, Historical Materialism and Indian History*. Vol. Foreword by Ernest Gellner. Oxford and New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989. [Selected as one of 202 central works of sociology in the 20th century in *Schlüsselwerke der Soziologie* eds. S. Papke & GW Oesterdiekhoff eds. Berlin: Westdeutscher Verlag, 2001: 372-74]
3. Watson, Jack B. *Success in World History since 1945*. London: Murray, 1989. Ed. Brendan O'Leary
4. Dunleavy, Patrick, B. O'Leary, and R.A.W. Rhodes, eds. *Prime Minister, Cabinet and Core Executive*, Special Issue, *Public Administration*. Vol. 68, 1990.
5. McGarry, John and B. O'Leary, eds. *The Future of Northern Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990. Foreword by Arend Lijphart.
6. O'Leary, B, Tom Lyne, Jim Marshall, and Bob Rowthorn. *Northern Ireland: Sharing Authority*. London: Institute for Public Policy Research, 1993.
7. O'Leary, B and John McGarry. *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland*. London & Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Athlone, 1993. [Short-listed for the Ewart-Biggs Memorial Prize]
8. McGarry, John and B. O'Leary, eds. *The Politics of Ethnic Conflict Regulation: Case Studies of Protracted Ethnic Conflicts*. New York: Routledge, 1993.
9. McGarry, John and B. O'Leary. *Explaining Northern Ireland: Broken Images*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, New York: Wiley, 1995.
10. O'Leary, B and John McGarry, eds. *A State of Truce: Northern Ireland after Twenty-Five Years*, Special Issue of *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 18: 4, 1995.
11. J. Barker et al. *Decentralized Political Structures for Somalia* (London: London School of Economics and Political Science), 1995, book and booklet translated into Somali, edited by J. Mayall, B. O'Leary, and K. von Hippel.
12. O'Leary, B and John McGarry. *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland*. 2nd revised & expanded ed. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Athlone Press, 1996.
13. McGarry, John and B. O'Leary. *Policing Northern Ireland: Proposals for a New Start*. Belfast: Blackstaff, 1999.
14. O'Leary, B, Lustick, Ian S, and Callaghy, T. eds. *Right-Sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
15. McGarry, John and B. O'Leary. *The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
16. O'Leary, B, John McGarry, and Khaled Salih, eds. *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

17. Heiberg, Marianne, B. O'Leary, and John Tirman, eds. *Terror, Insurgency, and the State: Ending Protracted Conflicts*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.
18. O'Leary, B, ed. *The Kurdistan Region: Invest in the Future. An Official Publication of the Kurdistan Region*. London and Washington D.C.: Newsdesk Publications, 2008.
19. O'Leary, B, ed. *Invest in the Future 2009. An Official Publication of the Kurdistan Regional Government*. London and Washington DC: Newsdesk Media, 2009.
20. O'Leary, B. *How to Get out of Iraq with Integrity*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
21. McCrudden, Christopher and B. O'Leary. *Courts and Consociations: Human Rights Versus Power-Sharing*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. [ICON Editors' Choice Book of the Year]
22. Mabry, Tristan, John McGarry, Margaret Moore, and B. O'Leary, eds. *Divided Nations and European Integration*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
23. McEvoy, Joanne and B. O'Leary, eds. *Power Sharing in Deeply Divided Places*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press., 2013.
24. O'Leary, B and John McGarry. *The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland*. London: Bloomsbury Academic Classics, 2016. [republication of Athlone 2<sup>nd</sup> edition]
25. Cordell, Karl, B. O'Leary, and Stefan Wolff, eds. *The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: The Politics of Stalemate*. London: Routledge, 2017. [book from Special Issue of Ethnopolitics]
26. O'Leary, B. *A Treatise on Northern Ireland: Colonialism*. Vol. 1, III vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. Paperback 2020, 2021 US [Winner of the James S. Donnelly Sr Prize; one of the Irish Times Books of the Year 2019]
27. O'Leary, B. *A Treatise on Northern Ireland: Control*. Vol. II, III vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. Paperback 2020 UK, 2021 US. [Winner of the James S. Donnelly Sr Prize; one of the Irish Times Books of the Year 2019]
28. O'Leary, B. *A Treatise on Northern Ireland: Consociation and Confederation*. Vol. III, III vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019. Paperback 2020, 2021 US [Winner of the James S. Donnelly Sr Prize; one of the Irish Times Books of the Year 2019]
29. Renwick, A, Doyle, O, Garry, J, Gillespie, P., Gormley-Heenan, C, Hayward, K, Hazell, R, Kenny, D, McCrudden, C, O'Leary, B., Tannam, E., Whysall, A 2021 Working Group on *Unification Referendums on the Island of Ireland*. London: Constitution Unit.
30. O'Leary, B. *Making Sense of a United Ireland*. Dublin: Penguin Ireland • Sandycove • Random House, publication date September 1, 2022. [one of the [Irish] Business Post politics/current affairs books of the year; Winner of the Brian Farrell Prize 2023 for the best book in political science in 2022, awarded by the Political Studies Association of Ireland]

#### **BOOK SERIES EDITOR (18)**

1. Hughes, James. *Chechnya: From Nationalism to Jihad*. National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century, Series ed. B O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007.

2. Anderson, Liam and Gareth Stansfield. *Crisis in Kirkuk: The Ethnopolitics of Conflict and Compromise*. National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century, Series ed. B O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
3. Lemarchand, René. *The Dynamics of Violence in Central Africa*. National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century. Series ed. B O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009.
4. Commercio, Michele E. *Russian Minority Politics in Post-Soviet Latvia and Kyrgyzstan: The Transformative Power of Informal Networks*. National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century, Series ed. B O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
5. Weller, Marc, and Katharine Nobbs, ed. *Asymmetric Autonomy and the Settlement of Ethnic Conflicts*. Series ed. B O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.
6. Haklai, Oded. (2011). *Palestinian Ethnonationalism in Israel*. National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century. Series Ed. B O'Leary Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
7. Koinova, Maria. *Ethnonationalist Conflict in Postcommunist States. Varieties of Governance in Bulgaria, Macedonia and Kosovo*. National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century, Series ed. B O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
8. Mabry, Tristan, John McGarry, Margaret Moore, and B O'Leary, eds. *Divided Nations and European Integration*. Series Ed: Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
9. McEvoy, Joanne and B O'Leary, eds. *Power Sharing in Deeply Divided Places*. Series ed: B. O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.
10. Lluch, Jaime. *Visions of Sovereignty: Nationalism and Accommodation in Multinational Democracies*. National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century, Series ed. B O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014.
11. Miodownik, Dan, and Oren Barak, ed. *Nonstate Actors in Intrastate Conflicts*. Series ed. B O'Leary, National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2014
12. Qvortrup, Mads. *Referendums and Ethnic Conflict*. National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century. Series ed. B O'Leary Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2014
13. Kissane, Bill. *After Civil War: Division, Reconstruction and Reconciliation in Contemporary Europe*. National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century, Series ed. B O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
14. Kuperman, Alan J. ed. *Constitutions and Conflict Management in Africa: Preventing Civil War through Institutional Design*. Series ed. B O'Leary, National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
15. Liu, Amy H. *Standardizing Diversity: The Political Economy of Language Regimes*. National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century, Series ed. B O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
16. McEvoy, Joanne. *Power-Sharing Executives: Governing in Bosnia, Macedonia and Northern Ireland*. National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century, Series ed. B O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.
17. Garry, John. *Consociation and Voting in Northern Ireland*. National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century, Series ed. B O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.
18. Loizides, Neophytos G. *Designing Peace: Cyprus and Institutional Innovations in Divided Societies*. National and Ethnic Conflict in the 21st Century, Series ed. B O'Leary. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

## 68 PEER-REVIEWED ARTICLES IN JOURNALS

1. O'Leary, B. "Explaining Northern Ireland: A Brief Study Guide." *Politics* 5, no. 1 (1985): 35-41.
2. O'Leary, B. "Is There a Radical Public Administration?" *Public Administration* 63, no. 3 (1985): 345-52.
3. O'Leary, B. "The Anglo-Irish Agreement: Statecraft or Folly?" *West European Politics* 10, no. 1 (1987): 5-32.
4. O'Leary, B. "British Farce and French Drama, or Tales of Two Cities: Explaining the Reorganization of London and Paris Governments, 1956-86." *Public Administration* 65, no. 4 (1987): 367-89.
5. O'Leary, B. "The Odyssey of Jon Elster." *Government and Opposition* 22, no. 4 (1987): 48-98.
6. O'Leary, B. "Why Was the GLC Abolished?" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 11, no. 2 (1987): 193-217.
7. O'Leary, B. "Towards Europeanisation and Realignment? The Irish General Election, February 1987." *West European Politics* 10, no. 3 (1987): 455-65.
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94. O'Leary, B. (2021). Review of Linda Colley, "*The Gun, the Ship and the Pen*," Dublin: Irish Times. March 20
95. O'Leary, B. et al among "President Leads Tributes to Seamus Deane," Dublin: Irish Times. May 13.
96. Garry, J., Gillespie, P. and O'Leary, B. (2021). "What people in the Republic actually think about Irish unification," Dublin: Irish Times, September 23
97. O'Leary, B. (2022). "Want to understand the Northern Ireland Protocol? Just read these 25 essays." Irish Times, March 19. <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/want-to-understand-the-northern-ireland-protocol-just-read-these-25-essays-1.4817662>.
98. O'Leary, B. 2022. Unionist-dominated Ulster is over: Are we on a demographic march towards Irish reunification? Major demographic consequences of the Troubles are the brain drain from all communities and the reinforcement of voluntary segregation. Dublin: Irish Times. August 27. <https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2022/08/27/making-sense-of-a-united-ireland/>
99. O'Leary, B. 2022. "The World: A Family History. Around the World in 13,000+ crazed dynasties" (Review). Dublin: Irish Times. October 22. <https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/books/review/2022/10/22/the-world-a-family-history-around-the-globe-in-1300-plus-crazed-dynasties/>
100. Garry, J, and O'Leary, B. 2022. "Northern Ireland's 'persuadables': A pivotal demographic for future referendums." Dublin: Irish Times. December 3. <https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2022/12/10/northern-irelands-persuadables-a-pivotal-demographic-for-future-referendums/>
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102. Garry, J, and B. O'Leary. 2022. "Resistance to Accepting United Ireland driven by Fear of Losing Identity." *Irish Times*, December 6. <https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2022/12/06/resistance-to-accepting-united-ireland-driven-by-fear-of-losing-identity/>.

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<https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2022/12/06/protestants-who-find-irish-unity-impossible-to-accept-more-likely-to-be-male-and-working-class/>
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<https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2022/12/05/health-service-economy-and-peace-key-concerns-about-united-ireland/>.
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107. O'Leary, B., and J. Garry. 2022. "Integrated vs devolved: two possible forms for united Ireland that divide opinion North and South: North favours a devolved model, while southern voters prefer an integrated model within which Northern Ireland would cease to exist as a political unit." Dublin: *Irish Times*, December 10.  
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109. Garry, John, and Brendan O'Leary. 2023. "North and South: the priorities that need to be addressed over the next ten years: The three most important issues are housing, health and economic growth." *Irish Times*, January 30.  
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<https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2023/01/28/northerners-are-more-connected-to-the-south-than-southerners-are-to-the-north/>.
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<https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2023/12/02/irish-unity-moves-up-list-of-priorities-but-lags-behind-health-housing-and-economy/>.
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114. Garry, J., B. O'Leary, and J. Pow. "Would a United Ireland Require a New Constitution?" *Irish Times*. December 9, 2023,  
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<https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2023/12/09/united-ireland-southern-voters-open-to-discussion-on-flags-and-anthem/>?
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118. Garry, J., B. O'Leary, and J. Pow. "Northern Protestants Pessimistic on Benefits of Irish Unity: Slim Majority of People in the Republic Believe Irish Unification Would Be Costly in the Short Term but Beneficial in the Long Term." *Irish Times*. December 5, 2023,  
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<https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2023/12/04/money-a-big-consideration-for-many-in-possible-vote-on-irish-unity/>.
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121. O'Leary, B., J. Garry, and J. Pow. "Signs That 'Losers' Consent' among Protestants for Irish Unity Is Increasing in Northern Ireland: Public Opinion in North and South Has Remained Largely Stable on the Idea of Unification." *Irish Times*. December 2, 2023, <https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2023/12/02/signs-that-losers-consent-among-protestants-for-irish-unity-is-increasing-in-northern-ireland/>.
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  123. Garry, J., B. O'Leary, and J. Pow. "Can the Red Hand of Ulster Be Transformed into a Unifying Image for the Island of Ireland?" *Irish Times*. January 22, 2024, <https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2024/01/22/can-the-red-hand-of-ulster-be-transformed-into-a-unifying-image-for-the-island-of-ireland/>.
  124. Garry, J., B. O'Leary, and J. Pow. "Northern Voters' Views on Irish Symbols Pose Interesting Challenges to Advocates of Unification." *Irish Times*. January 20, 2024, <https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2024/01/20/northern-protestants-wary-of-use-of-irish-symbols-in-any-united-ireland/>.
  125. Garry, J., B. O'Leary, and J. Pow. "Imperial Hangover or Club of Independent Republics? How the Commonwealth Is Sold Impacts Irish Responses." *Irish Times*. January 19, 2024, <https://www.irishtimes.com/politics/2024/01/19/imperial-hangover-or-club-of-independent-republics-how-the-commonwealth-is-sold-impacts-irish-responses/>.
- 12 RADIO DOCUMENTARIES** (regular broadcaster; these are full programs only where I was the presenter)
1. *A Place Apart?* Written and presented by O'Leary, B. BBC Radio 4, 1992. Producer: David Hendy.
  2. *Beyond the Cease-Fire*. written and co-presented by O'Leary, B. BBC Radio 4, Analysis, 1994. Producer: Nicola Meryck
  3. *Radio Documentary: The Fate of Nations*. written and co-presented by O'Leary, B. BBC Radio 4, Analysis, 1994. Producer: Nicola Meryck
  4. *Radio Documentary: Renewing the Peace Process?* Written and co-presented by O'Leary, B. BBC Radio 4, Analysis, 1996. Producer: Nicola Meryck
  5. *Radio Documentary: Breaking the Logjam*. Written and co-presented by O'Leary, B. BBC Radio 4, Analysis, 1996. Producer: Nicola Meryck
  6. *Radio Documentary: Splitting the State?* written and presented by O'Leary, B. BBC Radio 4, Analysis, 1997. Producer: Nicola Meryck
  7. *Radio Documentary: Bringing Rights Back Home*. written and presented by O'Leary, B. BBC Radio 4, Analysis, 1997. Producer: Nicola Meryck
  8. *Radio Documentary: The Hand of History?* written and presented by O'Leary, B. BBC Radio 4, Analysis, 1998. Producer: Nicola Meryck
  9. *Radio Documentary: Peace in Our Time?* written and presented by O'Leary, B. BBC Radio 4, Analysis, 2000. Producer: Nicola Meryck
  10. *Radio Documentary: 'Fair Cops'* written and presented by O'Leary, B. BBC Radio 4, Analysis, 2000. Producer: Nicola Meryck
  11. O'Leary, B. "Rethinking the Status of Northern Ireland, Scotland, and the UK." *Inside Politics Podcast*. Irish Times, 2016, <https://soundcloud.com/irishtimes-politics/rethinking-the-status-of-northern-ireland-scotland-and-the-uk>.
  12. O'Leary, B.. 2022. Inside Politics Irish Times Podcast. In *Ireland is Divided on the Unity Question*, edited by Hugh Linehan. Dublin: Irish Times. December 3.
- TELEVISION PROGRAMS** (full programs only)
- '*Northern Ireland*'. Co-written and presented by O'Leary, B. October Films Channel 4, 1992.
- I have been interviewed on very many TV programs, and documentaries, including on all major US, UK, and Irish networks, as well as numerous other broadcasting networks [See above]
- CONFERENCES PAPERS (NOT YET SUBMITTED FOR PUBLICATION, OR AVAILABLE ON-LINE, OR DIFFERENT FROM THE PUBLISHED VERSION)**
- O'Leary, B. *Determining Our Selves: On the Norm of National Self-Determination*. International Political Science Association. Berlin (Aug, 1994), 1994.
- O'Leary, B. *The Past, Present and Future of Policing and the Belfast Agreement*. Conference: "Whose Police Service?" organized by The Pat Finucane Centre, <http://www.serve.com/pfc/brendolearybs1.htm>. Derry, 2001.
- O'Leary, B. *Partitions: Definition, Types, Justification, Explanation & Assessment*. Partition & Memory. Keough Institute of Irish Studies University of Notre Dame, 2001.
- O'Leary, B, Bernard Grofman, and Jorgen Elklit. *Divisor Methods to Facilitate and Sequence Portfolio-Allocation in a Multi-Party Cabinet Coalition: Evidence from Northern Ireland*. the European Public Choice Conference. Paris, April 19, 2001.
- O'Leary, B. *Elie Kedourie's Nationalism: Lamenting Lost Empires and Assaulting Heresy*. National Identities and National Movements in European History. Leuven-Ghent, Belgium, 2002.
- McGarry, John and B O'Leary. *Federalism, Conflict-Regulation and National and Ethnic Power-Sharing*. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Philadelphia, 2003.

O'Leary, B. *Multi-National Federalism, Power-Sharing, Federacy & the Kurds of Iraq*. Workshop on Autonomy Arrangements and Internal Territorial Conflict. Oslo, 2003.

O'Leary, B. *The Transitional Administrative Law*. Aweza Club, Hêwler, Kurdistan, organized by Khattzeem, 2004.

O'Leary, B. 2005. "Kurdistan and Iraq," in Geerkens, F. (ed.) *Federalism: Turning Diversity into Harmony, Sharing Best Practices, The Third International Conference on Federalism* (Brussels, Federal Public Service Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and Development Corporation), 343-5.

J. Garry and B. O'Leary, First draft. "Preparing to Maximize Losers' Consent in Divisive Sovereignty Referendums: The Case of Potential Referendums on Irish Unification," presentation at Oxford University March 2023, delivered by J. Garry.

#### **MEDIA PROFILES OF BRENDAN O'LEARY**

'DON'T BLAME THE BIGOTS!' BRENDAN O'LEARY of the London School of Economics talks to Pat Byrne *Irish World*. May 5 1995, p. 14

'BRENDAN O'LEARY,' IN WORKING LIVES: THE IRISH IN BRITAIN, by Anne Holohan (The Irish Post), 138-44.

GUARDIAN Celebrity Scholar, Brendan O'Leary, June 18 1996.

Ross, F. Stuart. "Interview: Brendan O'Leary on Policing Northern Ireland." *Irish Edition*. February, 2002.

Hughes, Samuel. "Reinventing Iraq: Interview with Brendan O'Leary." *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, May-June, 2003.

One of the subjects of Royal Irish Academy and Yellow Asylum Films documentary series "THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING IRISH" (broadcast as "The Irish Mind" in the United States), directed by Alan Gilsenan 2008.

Andelman, David. "Talking Policy: Brendan O'Leary on Kurdistan." *World Policy Blog*, September 30, 2016.

Thacker, Lauren Rebecca. "Whatever You Say, Say Everything." *Omnia*, November 7 2019

Origin Stories: Brendan O'Leary, Omnia, Video, October 21 2020, <https://omnia.sas.upenn.edu/story/origin-stories-brendan-o%E2%80%99leary-video>

**PUBLIC LECTURES, INVITED PRESENTATIONS, ADDRESSES, ROUNDTABLES, AND CONFERENCE ACTIVITIES**

1. 2023. "Ireland in 2033," Panelist at Public Conference of the Royal Irish Academy and the University of Notre Dame, Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, August 25, 2023.
2. Making Sense of a United Ireland, Public Lecture, IIEA, Dublin, Ireland, <https://www.iiea.com/events/making-sense-of-a-united-ireland> July 5.
3. 2023. Making Sense of a United Ireland: Q and A with Professor Brendan O'Leary, Irishborderpol.com, Online event June 12 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0vUq4Omryow>
4. 2023. One of four panelists on "Ireland's Future - GFA 25 Years On, What Next? Public Conference, Wednesday, 31 May 2023 at Moot Court Room, Queen's University Belfast.
5. 2023. Memorial Lecture: in-person and Online. In Memory of Ernest Gellner, Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, May 25.
6. 2023. Keynote Address, Irish Futures: North and South Conference on the 25th Anniversary of the popular ratifications of the Good Friday Agreement, University College Cork, May 22. Co-sponsored by UCC and IIEA.
7. 2023. Irish Futures: Ireland and Northern Ireland. Scottish American History Forum, Chicago, Online lecture, May 13.
8. 2023. Public opinion and strategic thinking on uniting Ireland, Keynote Speech, Drumboe Martyrs 100<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, Céad Bliain, 1923-2023, Villa Rose Hotel, Ballybofey, Co. Donegal, Ireland, 11 March
9. 2023. Presentation: Strategy and Public Opinion: On Winning Irish (Re-)Unification while Maximizing Losers' Consent,' Presentation to An Taoiseach (Ireland's Prime Minister), Government Buildings, Dublin, Ireland, March 9
10. 2023. Presentation: Strategy and Public Opinion: On Winning Irish (Re-)Unification while maximizing losers' consent,' Presentation to the Tánaiste (Ireland's deputy Prime Minister) and senior officials in the Department of Foreign Affairs, Government Buildings, Dublin, Ireland, March 9.
11. 2023. Presentation: Strategy and Public Opinion: On Winning Irish (Re-)Unification while maximizing losers' consent,' Presentation to the Irish Labour Party leader Ivana Bacik and her colleagues, Dáil Éireann, Leinster House, Dublin, Ireland, March 9.
12. 2023. Presentation: Strategy and Public Opinion: On Winning Irish (Re-)Unification while maximizing losers' consent,' Presentation to the leader of the Social Democrats Holly Cairns and her colleagues, Dáil Éireann, Leinster House, Dublin, Ireland, March 8.
13. 2023. Presentation: Strategy and Public Opinion: On Winning Irish (Re-)Unification while maximizing losers' consent,' Presentation to senior leaders in the Green Party, Green Party HQ, Dublin, March 8.
14. 2023. Panel presentation to special meeting of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, Ireland, on the ARINS-Irish Times public opinion surveys of Dec 2022-Jan 2023, Dawson Street, Dublin, Ireland.
15. 2023. Presentation: Strategy and Public Opinion: On Winning Irish (Re-)Unification while maximizing losers' consent,' Presentation to senior leaders of Sinn Féin, including shadow Minister of Finance, Pearse Doherty TD, Dáil Éireann, Leinster House, Dublin, Ireland, March 7.
16. 2023. Presentation: Strategy and Public Opinion: On Winning Irish (Re-)Unification while Maximizing Losers' Consent,' University of Galway, Ireland, March 6.
17. "Of Protocols & Perfidy: UK-Irish Relations 25 Years after the Good Friday Agreement" -- Public lecture, David Calleo Lecture Series in European Studies, Washington DC, Thursday, Feb 9, 2023 (Rome Auditorium), Johns Hopkins University
18. Invited Presentation to the Council on Foreign Relations, Of Protocols and Perfidy: UK-Irish Relations 25 Years after the Good Friday Agreement, presentation and in person seminar and q & a, Washington DC, Friday Feb 10, 2023
19. 2023. "ARINS: What is to be done?" Keynote address, Kilmore Abbey, Galway, Ireland, January 28.
20. 2022 'ARINS: Key Issues in Irish Unification,' Lecture, Keough-Naughten Institute of Irish Studies, University of Notre Dame, 18 November 2022.
21. 2022 'Oral Presentation and Q & A with Senators, [Irish Senate Public Consultation Committee October 7](#) [virtual]
22. 2022. "Key Choices in Irish Reunification," Annual Seamus Deane Honorary Field Day Lecture, The Playhouse, Derry, September 3. <https://www.derryplayhouse.co.uk/event/the-2022-annual-seamus-deane-honorary-field-day-lecture>
23. 2022. Invited by the President of Ireland to give the Principal Address in a public televised seminar in the Centennial year of the Constitution of the Irish Free State (the Machnamh 100 series). Recorded Thursday 19 May 2022 in the Hyde Hall, at Aras an Uachtarán (the President's residence). <https://soundcloud.com/presidentir/machnamh-100-seminar-v-response-by-professor-brendan-o-leary>
24. 2022. "Referendum Matters", Lecture at the National University of Ireland-Galway, February 8, in person
25. 2022. "Models of Irish Reunification," Lecture at the National University of Ireland-Galway, February 3, MA students in Irish Politics, in person
26. 2022. Voting for a Model or Voting for a Process to Pick a Model, On-line lecture, Dublin City University and Queen's University Belfast, February 3
27. 2022. "Voting for a Model or Voting for a Process to Pick a Model?", Faculty Research Seminar, Lecture at the National University of Ireland-Galway, February 3, in person
28. 2022. "Models of Irish Reunification," University of Notre Dame at Kilmore Abbey, Galway, undergraduate program, February 8, in person.
29. 2022 "Consociation and its Critics," Lecture at the National University of Ireland-Galway, Jan 22. in person
30. 2021. Reunifying Ireland: Prospects and Feasible Models, Lewes Center, Princeton University, November 5, introduced by Fintan O'Toole
31. 2021. Reunifying Ireland: Prospects and Feasible Models, University of Notre Dame, National University of Ireland- Galway, Nov 9
32. 2021. Launch Event on Mini-Public Deliberation on Constitutional Futures, University College Dublin, 23<sup>rd</sup> Sept with John Garry, Paul Gillespie, and Roland Gjon
33. 2021. Partition in Comparative Perspective, Queen's University Belfast in partnership with the BBC, Sept 6 <https://www.qub.ac.uk/talks-100/tbc-brendan-o-leary/>
34. 2021. A Quick Guide to the Principles of Power-Sharing, Budapest on-line, July.
35. 2021. "Partitioning Ireland in Comparative Perspective," Féile an Phobail, August 6, Belfast, interviewed by Bill Rolston, <https://www.facebook.com/feilebelfast/videos/1040904456716375/>
36. 2021. March 28. "Heath Robinson, Rube Goldberg and HR Giger meet Arend Lijphart: A Guide to Institutional Layering In and Over Northern Ireland," Virtual Keynote Address to the Annual Conference of the Political Studies Association of the UK.
37. 2021. March 12. "Heath Robinson Meets Arend Lijphart," Virtual Lecture, in an on-line conference, The Northern Ireland Peace Process After Brexit, at Villanova's Institute of Irish Studies.
38. 2021 Feb 19 Virtual panel presentation, "Partition," Decade of Commemorations Project, Derry City, Tower Museums
39. 2021 "The Good Friday Agreement: Where are we now?" Joint presentation of Interim Report of the working Group on Unification Referendums on the Island of Ireland, with Alan Renwick, On-line webinar with Kimberly Myles-Cowell, American University,
40. 2020 Dec 15 Panel presentation at International Conference: The Legacy of Peace: 25 Years of the Dayton-Paris Peace Agreement, hosted by the Croatian National Academy of Science, recorded at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RPu6gesgkmk>
41. 2020 Dec 10 Webcast Joint presentation on Interim Report of Working Group on Unification Referendums on the Island of Ireland, Democracy Unit QUB and University College London
42. 2020 Nov 25. Irish Reunification: Challenges and Opportunities - Trinity College Dublin, Law School, Professor Oran Doyle in conversation with Professor Brendan O'Leary, recorded at: <https://youtu.be/L0NePyU20Sw>
43. 2020 Nov 17. Panelist presenter and dialogue, "Bridging the Atlantic— Ireland and the US," <https://globalirish.georgetown.edu/tuesday-november-17-2020/> reported at <https://www.irishcentral.com/opinion/others/bridging-the-atlantic-ireland-us>
44. 2020 Oct 29. "The Origins of The Kurdish Question: Sèvres, Lausanne and the Partition of Ottoman Kurdistan," respondent to Dr. Djene Rhys Bajalan, Middle East Center, University of Pennsylvania, recorded at <https://upenn.app.box.com/s/egfwbwcf807gfhd36fdnnicn7u2jzvn>
45. 2020 Oct 6. "Irish Americans for Biden Policy to Polls Rally," Webinar, With Samantha Power and Bonnie Weir
46. 2020. Feb 3. "On the Break-up of Unions: On the UK's Secession from the EU and its Consequences." LSE Suntory Toyota Sponsored Public Lecture, London School of Economics and Political Science
47. 2020 Jan 8. Brendan O'Leary, Hon MRIA, Conversation Event, Subject: A Treatise on Northern Ireland; Benburb Abbey, Co. Tyrone, <https://www.ria.ie/brendan-oleary-hon-mria-conversation-event#Xgl9CoLbvH0.linkedin>
48. 2019. Nov 7. "On UKEXIT." Invited Public Lecture. American University, Washington DC
49. 2019. Nov 19. "Renegades or Realists? The United States in Syria," Perry World House, University of Pennsylvania with M. Salih
50. 2019. Oct. "Wall Symposium." McGill University, Montreal.

51. 2019. Oct. 5. "On Diversity," Penn Spectrum Weekend, October 5, University of Pennsylvania
52. 2019. Clarifying Irish Re-unification in a Future Referendum, Deliberative Forum, Belfast, Two public presentations, March 30, Clayton Hotel.
53. 2019. The Nature of the European Union, McGill University, Montreal March 21. Conference.
54. 2018. May 23, 22, 4, 3. 2018. (with John Garry) Presentation and briefing of our report *Northern Ireland and the UK's Exit from the EU: What Do People Think? Evidence from Two Investigations: A Survey and a Deliberative Forum*, at the UK Foreign Office (Whitehall); the Irish Embassy, London (both May 3), The European Commission Task Force team of Michele Barnier (Brussels, May 4), public presentation at ESRC UK in a Changing Europe Conference (London, May 22), and briefing to the Shadow Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (Westminster, May 23)
55. 2018. Invited Public Lecture, 'The Kurds and the Four Wolves,' Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas, April 20
56. 2018. Invited jt. keynote, 'The Twilight of the United Kingdom and Tíocfaidh ár lá: Twenty Years After the Good Friday Agreement,' Queen's University Belfast and the Center for Irish Studies, University of Notre Dame, Belfast, April 13
57. 2018. Invited presentation on 'The Twilight of the United Kingdom and Tíocfaidh ár lá: Twenty Years After the Good Friday Agreement,' and symposium participant, Florida University, Gainesville. Mar 29-30
58. 2017. Invited presentation on 'The Good Friday Agreement,' International Conference, Faculty of Law, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, "The Role of Constitutional Design in the Resolution of Ethno-National Conflicts: Comparative Perspectives," Jerusalem, Israel, Dec2017. Invited opening presentation for 'Case Studies and Reconciliation: Implications for Afghanistan,' at Centra, Arlington, Virginia, Dec
59. 2017. 'Ireland and Northern Ireland and UKEXIT,' Lecture in Conference on Democratic Reform in Europe, LBJ School of Public Affairs, The University of Texas at Austin, Nov
60. 2016. 'UKEXIT and Ireland,' Rosenbach Museum, Philadelphia, Nov
61. 2016. One of the Keynote Speakers at the President of Ireland sponsored National Conference, 1916-2016 The Promise and Challenge of National Sovereignty, National University of Ireland-Galway,
62. 2016. 'UKEIT,' debate at an event sponsored by Friends of Princeton University Library, Princeton NJ, Mar 29-30
63. 2016. Juan Linz Lecture, on receipt of the Juan Linz Prize, International Political Science Association Conference, Poznan, Poland: "Federalism: The Kurds and the Four Wolves." July
64. 2016. After UKEXIT, Senator Mitchell Institute, Queen's University Belfast, June 24.
65. April 2016. Reflections on Easter 1916, Brehon Law, Irish Immigration Center lecture, Philadelphia.
66. March 2016. Power-sharing in Deeply Divided Places, Research Seminar, Department of Political Science, University of Florida-Gainesville.
67. March 2016. Principal Speaker, "The Kurds: Securitized Minorities and the Four Wolves," Conference on Suspect Minorities, Sociology Conference, McGill University
68. November 2015. Panel Presentation: The Case for Confederation, Erbil, Kurdistan, Middle East Research Institute, <http://www.merik.org/multimedia/forum-2015-session-8-the-challenges-of-keeping-iraq-united/>
69. July 2015. "Strategies toward National and Ethnic Conflict: Iraq" Global Minority Rights Summer School, National University of Public Service, Keynote, Budapest, Hungary.
70. May 2015. The state of Kurdistan and the State of Kurdistan. Public Lecture, Institute of Conflict Transformation, Queen's University Belfast, Northern Ireland.
71. May 2015. The Making and Breaking of the Constitution of Iraq, 2005-15, Keynote Speaker, Conference on Iraqi Kurdistan and the Reshaping of the Middle East, University of Kurdistan Hewlêr
72. May 2015. "Astonishing Ingratitude: Why the Good Friday Agreement Has Worked So Far," Public Lecture, Brehon Law Society, Philadelphia.
73. March 2015. Keynote Speaker. "ISIS, the state of Kurdistan and the State of Kurdistan." Middle East Center, London School of Economics & Political Science.
74. March 2015. Public Lecture. National and Ethnic Conflicts and Their Resolution. A Global Survey. University of Scranton, PA.
75. January 2015. Keynote address on Power-sharing. European Centre for Minority Issues Conference and Uppsala University Conference on Trans-ethnic Coalition Building, Uppsala University, Sweden.
76. January 2015. National and Ethnic Conflicts & Their Resolution. Higher Command & Staff Course, JSCSC, UK Defence Academy, Wiltshire, UK.
77. December 2014. Royal United Services Institute, London, "Kurdistan Symposium," Invited Keynote speaker.
78. December 2014. Reform of the European Union Electoral Law, Invited Memorandum and Presentation to Plenary Session of the Committee on Constitutional Affairs of the Parliament of the European Union, Brussels, Belgium.
79. November 2014. Colloquium on Grand Strategy and Self-Determination, Liechtenstein Institute, Princeton University. Invited Speaker (on Kurdish questions) and Participant.
80. October 2014. "The Causes and Resolution(s) of National & Ethnic Conflicts," Lecture & panel discussion, RCDS, London.
81. October 2014. "The state of Kurdistan and the State of Kurdistan," public lecture at King's College, London.
82. September 2014. "What's Going on in Iraq and Syria? Understanding ISIS/ISIL: A Political Science Roundtable Discussion," SAS, U Penn
83. August 2014. "Power-sharing in deeply divided places with special reference to Iraq and Northern Ireland" in NUI Galway, August 27 – part of the President of Ireland's 'Ethics Initiative,' organized by the Conflict, Rights and Security Research Cluster of NUI Galway's Whitaker Institute in association with the Moore Institute.
84. July 2014. "The Macro-regulation of Ethnic Conflict," Global Minority Rights Summer School, National University of Public Service, Budapest, Hungary.
85. 2014. July. Invited Public Lecture. "Edinburgh, Nationalism and Scotland: Two Materialist Theories of Nationalism Reconsidered." Invited Keynote Lecture at the 50th Anniversary Conference of the Foundation of the Sociology Department at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.
86. June 2016. Address at IBIS Annual Conference, Constitutions and Culture Wars: Northern Ireland, the Irish State and the North-South Dimension, IBIS Annual Conference, University College Dublin, June 16.
87. April 2014. "Reflections on Power-sharing and Partition amid Israel/Palestine," Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York.
88. April 2014. ASN Book Panel on S. Kiell's Multinational Federation in Bosnia, Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York.
89. January 2014. "The Case for Power-sharing in Deeply Divided Places." Bates College.
90. November 2013. Seminar presentation on Political Violence and Northern Ireland. Yale University.
91. October 2013. "Ethnic Conflict," Lecture at the Royal College of Defense Studies, London.
92. October 2013. Keynote Lecture, "Remarkably Successful Power-Sharing in Northern Ireland: Reflections on Excessive Ingratitude, Especially Among the Astonished." British Academy/Leverhulme Project on the 'Promise of Peace,' Queen's University School of Law, Belfast.
93. September 2013. Address at the Northern Ireland Assembly, "How Academics can Enhance MLAs Capabilities," KESS Launch, Longroom, Stormont, delivered before the Speaker of the UK Parliament, the Ceann Comhairle of Dáil Éireann (the Speaker of the Irish Parliament), the Presiding Officer of the Scottish Parliament, and the Speaker of the Northern Ireland Assembly.
94. September 2013. "Comparing Northern Ireland and Bosnia and Herzegovina" Keynote speaker at the University of Ulster, Magee College, Derry, Northern Ireland, "Bridging Divisions Conference."
95. April 2013. Chair and Discussant at Panel on "Political Violence" at the Association for the Study of Nationalities Conference at Columbia University, New York
96. March 2013. Invited Presentation on "Reflections on Power-sharing and Partition amid Israel/Palestine," European University Institute, Florence, March 6-9.
97. February 2013. "Courts and Consociations," Lecture at the Faculty and Graduate Student Seminar, Political Science, University of Delaware, Newark, February 22.
98. February 2013. Commentary on P. W. Galbraith at conference/book-launch of Mona J. Fixdal, *Ways out of War: Peacemakers in the Middle East and Balkans*, Princeton University.
99. February 2013. "Hungary's New Constitution is Hungarian, Constitutional, Democratic, and European, Even if it is Not What All of Us Would have Drafted," Discussant at the Penn Program on Democracy, Constitutionalism and Citizenship, University of Pennsylvania, February 21

100. January 2013. Invited panelist and presenter, Conference on Political Violence, RAND, Washington DC.
101. January 2013. Invited speaker, "The Christians of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq (and the disputed territories)," Chaldean Syriac Assyrian Council conference Toronto.
102. December 2012. "The Christians of the Kurdistan Region of Iraq," lecture, Conference at the Catholic University of America, Washington DC
103. November 2012. "'Consociation and the Courts' (with C. McCrudden), and 'The Federalization of Iraq and the Break-up of Sudan,'" at New York University conference organized by Bernard Grofman (UC-I) and Samuel Isaacharoff (NYU)
104. November 2012. "Eliminating and Managing Religious Differences," Keynote address, Conference at Pompeu Fabra University, Barcelona
105. October 8 2012, "Ethnic Politics and Power-sharing," Lecture, Royal College of Defence Studies, London
106. June 19 2012. "The Kurds and the Four Wolves," presented at Washington D.C. Joint Foreign Area Officer Program, Naval Postgraduate School Program
107. June 14-16 2012. "Consociation and the Courts" (with C. McCrudden), presented at "Workshop on Ethnic Politics and Electoral Democracy," organized by Bernard Grofman and Daniel Boschler, sponsored by NCCR Democracy & Center for Comparative and International Studies (CIS), University of Zurich, and the Center for the Study of Democracy, University of California, Irvine.
108. May 18, 2012. "Belfast 1919-22 and 1969-72: Outlines of a Project," presented at conference on 'Armed Conflicts in Comparative Perspective,' National University of Ireland, Galway.
109. May 14, 2012. Discussant at Witness Seminar on the Irish Peace Process at the National University of Ireland, Galway.
110. April 3 2012. The Leonard Schapiro Lecture, sponsored by Government & Opposition at the Annual Political Studies Association Conference of the United Kingdom, Belfast, "The Federalization of Iraq and the Break-up of Sudan."
111. February 22 2012. "Power-Sharing," Lecture and Seminar, Mediation Support Unit, United Nations, New York.
112. January 23 2012. "Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places: Theories and Evidence," Lecture at the Durham Global Security Centre, Durham University, United Kingdom.
113. Nov 11 2011. Moderator of Panel on "the Post-Revolutionary Middle East: A Realistic Picture," Conference on "Democracy and the Middle East," Penn Law School.
114. Nov 9 2011, Chair of an informal conference-panel opened by the Secretary General of the United Nations on "The United Nations and Mediation," UN Conference Room 2, NYC. NY.
115. Oct 31 2011, "The Federalization of Iraq and the Break-up of Sudan," Public Lecture as part of the Conflict Program, at the London School of Economics & Political Science
116. September 26 2011, "Ethnic Politics and Conflict," Lecture, Royal College of Defence Studies, London
117. July 2-4 2011. Invited Guest at the UN Security Council Retreat on "Strengthening Preventive Diplomacy and Mediation," Istanbul
118. June 2011. "The Future of Turkey," Lecture for the Middle East Center's Program on Turkey, University of Pennsylvania.
119. June 16 2011. Keynote Address, "Power-Sharing: Meanings, Varieties & Evidence," Conference on The Politics of Accommodation in Multinational Democracies, St. Anthony's College
120. May 7 2011. Public Lecture, "The Making of Iraq's Constitution of 2005," California Western-UC San Diego Joint Speaker Series Cosponsored by California Western and University of California, San Diego.
121. April 2011. The Gates-Ferry Distinguished Visiting Lectureship, Centenary College, New Jersey, invited lecture on "Peace, Policing, and Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places - Successes, Difficulties and Failures in Northern Ireland, Iraq and Sudan."
122. April 2011. The J.A. Corry Lectureship invited public lecture at The Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, "The Federalization of Iraq and the Break-up of Sudan."
123. Mar 2011. International Studies Association Conference, Montreal, invited Panel Member on presentation of distinguished fellowship award to Professor Walker Connor.
124. Mar 2011. "Nationalism and War Conference," McGill University, Canada, discussant for three papers.
125. Jan 29 2011. Duke University Law School. Conference: Challenges to Democracy in Divided Societies," invited paper presented on "Strategies for Managing Conflict."
126. Dec 13 2010. Commentator, at Conference on "State & Nation Formation: Nikolai Grundtvig in Comparative Perspective," Vartov, Copenhagen.
127. Nov 1 2010. Moderator at Public Forum on "Sudan at the Crossroads: Unity vs. Secession," Africa Studies Center, University of Pennsylvania, Houston Hall, Hall of Flags.
128. Oct 2010. "Power-Sharing," invited lecture Case Western University at a conference on the Good Friday Agreement.
129. Oct 2010. Bennington College, Vermont. Invited lecture on "Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places."
130. Oct 2010. "Ethnicity and Ethnic Conflict," Royal College of Defence Studies, London.
131. Sept 20 2010. Invited presentation, at the request of the United Nations Mediation Support Unit, to the staff of the European Commission, Brussels, on "Mediating Power-Sharing Arrangements: The State of Research and Practice," Charlemagne Building, European Parliament.
132. Feb. 2010. Invited presentation to the staff of the Department of Political Affairs, United Nations, on "Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places: The State of Research and Practice."
133. 2009-10. Invited reports and presentations to the staff of the Department of Political Affairs, United Nations on Nepal (December and January 2009-10), Sudan (2009-10), and Kyrgyzstan (May 2010).
134. Nov 2009. Invited Keynote Speaker to Conference organized by the two Human Rights Commissions on the Island of Ireland and University College Dublin's School of Law, Newman House, Dublin, Ireland, address entitled, "An all-island Charter of Rights as Mutual Assurance and Insurance."
135. Nov 2009. "Public Lecture, Getting Out of Iraq Responsibly," University College Dublin's School of Law, Roebuck House, Dublin, Ireland.
136. Oct 14-15, 2009. "Power-Sharing and The Future of Iraq," presentation to conference co-hosted by The Centre for International Governance Innovation & The Stimson Center, Canadian House of Commons, Ottawa.
137. Aug 2009. Invited Lecture, "Can Multi-National Federations Work? The Case of Iraq," Max Planck Institute for the Study of Religious and Ethnic Diversity at Gottingen, Germany.
138. June 22-4. "The Export of Democracy to the Kurdistan Region & Iraq," Presentation to the Conference on "Exporting Terror, Assumptions of Irrationality & Rationality in International Security," School of Economics & Management, Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, Sud Tirol/Alto Adige.
139. June 12-14 2009. United Ireland Forum, "Forms and Prospects of Irish Unification," Invited Public Lecture, New York.
140. June & Dec 2009. Four presentations on "Unity and Secession," Juba and Khartoum, Sudan, presentations made under the auspices of the Chatham House Initiative: one presentation on peaceful secessions in comparative perspective, one on the stability requirements of pluralist federations, one on peaceful secession in Sudan, and one on making unity attractive in the Sudan.
141. April 24 2009. Panel on my book, "How To Get Out of Iraq With Integrity," "Association for the Study of Nationalities, Columbia University, New York (Reviewers Peter Rutland, Alon Ben-Meier and Stefan Wolff)
142. Feb 10 2009. Public Lecture, "How To Get Out of Iraq With Integrity," The University of Central Florida (The Kurdish Series).
143. Jan 23 2009. "Lecture, 'How To Get Out of Iraq With Integrity,'" Pennsylvania Association of Senior and Retired Faculty, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
144. Oct 2008. Keynote Address, "How To Get Out of Iraq With Integrity," Political Studies Association of Ireland, Annual Conference, National University of Ireland: University College Galway.
145. June 26 2008. "Reflections from Northern Ireland and Iraq," Public Address to Penn Alumni, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.
146. June 2008. "Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places," presentation to Policy Network, Foresight Russia, Ritz-Carlton Hotel, Moscow. A Symposium organized by the Alfred Herrhausen Society, the International Forum of Deutsche Bank, in partnership with the Council on Foreign and Defense Policy and Policy Network.
147. May 2008. "Kirkuk and the Disputed Territories," Public Lecture at the University of Exeter, Great Britain.
148. May 2008. "Lessons for Export?" Presentation to The Mitchell Conference, "Moving on From Conflict: Lessons from Northern Ireland," Queen's University Belfast.
149. May 19 2008. "Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places," Suntory-Toyota Public Lecture, London School of Economics & Political Science.

150. May 9 2008. "Article 140," presentation at a Conference organized by the Washington Kurdish Institute and the Penn Program in Ethnic Conflict, International Relations Room, Congress, Washington DC.
151. April 2008. "The Return of the Soldier," presentation to "Freud, Franklin, and Beyond: An Interdisciplinary Forum on Mental Health and Society," sponsored by the University of Pennsylvania and the Psychoanalytical Center of Philadelphia.
152. Mar 2008. Speaker in Panel on "Understanding Ethnic Conflict and Identity-Based Atrocities," in the Program in Holocaust and Human Rights Studies Conference on "The Responsibility to Protect: A Framework for Confronting Identity-based Atrocities, Cardozo School of Law, New York, NY.
153. Dec 19 2007. "Nationalities, Oil, and Land: Kirkuk and the Disputed Territories," Address to the conference on "The Kurds in International Affairs," Chatham House, London.
154. Nov. 2007. "Transformations in Ireland," Keynote Address to the Irish Association Annual Conference, "Cross Border People: Southerners in the North; Northerners in the South," Ramada Hotel, Shaw's Bridge, Belfast. [The text will be published in an edited volume organized by the Association]
155. Aug 23 2007. "Thinking about Coalition Governments: Comparative and European perspectives," Keynote lecture delivered at Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal, August 23 2007, and subsequently presented to civil society, media and politicians at meetings in Kathmandu.
156. June 2007. "Work for not Against Iraq's Constitution," Submission to the Iraq Commission, London, June 2007, also broadcast interview [http://www.channel4.com/news/microsites/the\\_iraq\\_commission/submissions.html](http://www.channel4.com/news/microsites/the_iraq_commission/submissions.html)
157. June 2007. "The Separation of Powers in a Theocracy," paper presented to the Conference on the Political Economy of Theocracy, Antwerp, Belgium.
158. Mar 17 2007. "The Future of Iraq, Colloquium," Eastern Sociological Association, Philadelphia.
159. Feb 23 2007. "Pluralist Federations and Iraq, "The Thrower Symposium: The New Federalism, Plural Governance in a Decentered World," Emory School of Law, Emory University, Atlanta.
160. April 5 2007. "Travel and Engagements," Penn Humanities Forum.
161. Jan 2007. "The Baker-Hamilton Report," The Solomon Asch Center, University of Pennsylvania.
162. Nov 2006. Political Violence and Terrorism, University of Minnesota Law School.
163. Nov 2006. "Managing Hard-liners," University of California at Irvine.
164. Oct 12 2006. "Democracy and Federalism," and "Summing Up," Conference on The Constitution of Iraq: One Year On, University of Pennsylvania Law School and the National Constitution Center, in co-operation with the Woodrow Wilson School, Princeton.
165. 2006-7. Conference presentations on Kurdistan and Iraq for various branches of the United States Government, Washington D.C., Mar. 2006, Nov. 2006, Dec. 2006, Jan. 2007.
166. Aug 2006. "In Defense of Iraq's Constitution," Hecklers, BBC Radio broadcast, London.
167. May 11-12 2006. "Arrangements for Managing Oil and Other Natural Resources in the 2005 Constitution", Conference hosted by the Department Foreign Affairs, Canada, "Iraq: Preventing Another Generation of Conflict," Ottawa.
168. Jan 2006. "Keynote Address: Partitions and their History," Conference of the Irish-British Cross-Border Association, Armagh.
169. Oct-Nov 2005. 'Twenty Propositions on Political Violence and Terrorism,' presented at Oslo, Norway, Nov. 2005, Norwegian Mission to the UN, October 2005, Chatham House, London, October 2005, European Commission, 2005, UK Foreign & Commonwealth Office, October 2005
170. Nov 2005. "The Negotiation of a Federation in Baghdad," inaugural lecture for the Center on Multi-Level Governance, London, Ontario, Canada.
171. Sept 2005. "The Future of Kurdistan," presented at Swarthmore College.
172. Sept 2005. "How the US May be Lucky in Iraq," BBC Lecture, London.
173. 2004-5. "The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq," presented at Chatham House, London, June 2005, University of Chicago, April 2005, MIT, April 2005, Bowdoin, April 2005, Princeton, April 2005, ASN Conference, Columbia University, April 2005, Brookings Institute, Woodrow Wilson Center, Washington D.C. September 2004, University of Pennsylvania European Alumni, London, September 2004.
174. Oct 2004 & Sept 2005. "The IRA," USIP-SSRC two joint conferences, presented at Washington D.C. September 2005, and October 2004, and at Cuenca, Spain.
175. March 17 2004. "The Transitional Administrative Law," Address at the Aweza Club, Erbil, Kurdistan, reported in Khebat (Hêwler, Kurdistan), April 8 2004.
176. March 3-5 2005. "Kurdistan and Iraq." Presentation at Turning Diversity into Harmony, Sharing Best Practices, The Third International Conference on Federalism, Forum of Federations, at European Parliament, Brussels.
177. Dec 2003. "Multi-national Federalism, Power-Sharing, Federacy & the Kurds of Iraq." Presented at Workshop on Autonomy Arrangements and Internal Territorial Conflict, Oslo, Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
178. Sept. 2003. Keynote Address, "Multi-national federalism, Federacy, Power-sharing & The Kurds of Iraq," Conference on Multi-Nationalism, Power-Sharing and the Kurds in a New Iraq, Carftz Foundation Conference Center, Washington DC.
179. (with J. McGarry) Aug-Sept. 2003. "Federalism, Conflict-Regulation and National and Ethnic Power-Sharing," Paper read at Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, at Philadelphia.
180. May 23 2003. "Consociational Theory: Refinements and a Defense," Free University of Berlin.
181. May 11 2003, "The Past and Future of Irish Nationalism," Re-imagining Ireland Conference, University of Virginia
182. May 1 2003. "Partition," Political Science department, University of Wisconsin-Madison, May 1 2003.
183. April 2003. "Federalism and Multinationalism," presentation at conference on Federalism and Multinationalism, University of Hull, UK.
184. Mar 2003. "The European Union, Federalism and Nationalism," public lecture at The University of Iceland, sponsored by the University and the Embassy of the United Kingdom.
185. Feb 2003. "Multiculturalism and Consociation," East-West Common Ground Conference, Hawaii.
186. Dec 2002. Keynote Address, "The Future of Iraqi Kurdistan: 10 Years On," University of Southern Denmark, Odense
187. Nov 2002. Keynote address, "Consociation," University of Western Ontario Conference on Power-Sharing, Canada.
188. June 17-18 2002. "Five Unpopular Theses on Terrorism," conference of the US Social Science Research Council & the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs, Amsterdam.
189. April 2002. "Participant in 'Conference on the NI Peace Process," US Dept. of State & National Intelligence Council, Meridian International Center, Washington D.C.
190. Mar & Sep 2002. "Elie Kedourie's Nationalism: Lamentations for Lost Empires and Assaulting Heresy," paper presented at the international colloquium, National Identities and National Movements in European History, Universities of Ghent-Leuven, March 16-18, 2002, and presented at the American Political Science Association Conference, Boston, Sept. 2002.
191. Feb 28 2002. Co-organizer of a joint conference of the Solomon Asch Center, the American Psychological Association and the FBI National Academy, "Countering Terrorism: Integrating Theory and Practice," Quantico, Virginia, USA.
192. Dec 2001. "Partition," Paper presented at a Conference on Partition, University of Notre Dame.
193. Sep 13 2001. "Symposium, 'Responding to Terrorism," University of Pennsylvania, September 13 2001, in Almanac, 18, 4, 4-5, and also published on [www.opendemocracy.net](http://www.opendemocracy.net)
194. Feb 28 2001. "Human Rights in a Consociational, Confederal and Double Protection System," SDLP Conference on Human Rights, Belfast.
195. Jan 27 2011. "The Past, Present and Future of Policing in Northern Ireland," Address to the Pat Finucane Centre, Derry.
196. Nov 29 2000. "Nationalism and Federalism," Address to the Merriam Symposium, "Can the World Cope? The Challenge of Ethnopolitical Conflict," University of Pennsylvania.
197. Nov 2 2000. "The Belfast Agreement: Is the Darkest Hour Just Before the Dawn?" Beatty Memorial Lecture, McGill University, Montreal.
198. Nov 1. 2000. "Nationalism and Federalism: A Theory of the Necessity of a Staatsvolk," McGill University, Montreal.
199. Sep 22 2000. "Why failing fully to implement the Patten Report matters," Testimony to the US House of Representatives and the OSCE, Washington DC.
200. Aug 23 2000, "An Iron Law of Nationalism and Federalism," Nordic House, Torshavn, Faeroe Islands.
201. June 24 2000. "The State of the Agreement," Federation of Irish Societies, Birmingham.

202. June 13-16 2000. "The Patten Report and its Implementation?" Catalán Pólice Academia, Barcelona.
203. June 5 2000. "The Patten Report Needs to be Saved from the Current Police Bill," Address to the Friends of Ireland, Grand Committee Room of the House of Commons, Westminster.
204. May 24 2000. "An Iron Law of Nationalism and Federation? A (neo-Diceyan) Theory of the Necessity of a Federal Staatsvolk, and of consociational Rescue," The 5th Ernest Gellner Memorial Lecture, Public Lecture, LSE.
205. Mar 2000. "The British-Irish Agreement," Address to the 10th Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism, LSE.
206. April 2000. "Response to Lord Hurd," address to the Constitution Unit's Conference on The Future of the House of Lords. Church House, Westminster, March 8 2000, published in Conference Papers: The Future of the House of Lords (London: The Constitution Unit and Royal Commission on Reform of the House of Lords), 31-4.
207. Feb 29-Mar 2 2000. "The Nature of the British Irish Agreement and the Role of Some 3rd Parties," Address to the Conference on International Dispute Resolution: Lessons from Northern Ireland, Ministry of Justice: National Center for Mediation and Dispute Resolution, Jerusalem.
208. Dec 1999. "The British-Irish Agreement of 1998: Results and Prospects," Constitutional Design 2000, University of Notre Dame.
209. Oct 1999. "The Future Policing of Northern Ireland," University of Limerick.
210. June 1999. "Northern Ireland Conference," Centre for Research into Elections and Social Trends, Queen's University Belfast.
211. June 1999. "Human Rights Conference, Northern Ireland Office," Stormont, Belfast.
212. June 1 1999. "Northern Ireland Peace Agreement Lecture," Dartmouth College, USA.
213. May 19, 1999. "British-Irish Agreement," Manchester University, Government Department.
214. May 1999. "British-Irish Agreement," Nuffield College, Oxford University.
215. May 1999. "Human Rights and the Northern Ireland Peace Agreement: Problems and Prospects," Institute of Commonwealth Studies, London.
216. Jan 1999. "The Political Economics of Secession Conference," Eurasia Project funded by the Ford Foundation, Barcelona, Spain.
217. Nov 26 1998. "The Nature of the Agreement," The 9th John Whyte Memorial Lecture, Queen's University Belfast.
218. Oct 22 1998. "The Double Protection of Rights – The Novelty of the British-Irish Agreement 1998," Sampol Comparative Politics Conference on Human Rights in Modern Democracies, University of Bergen.
219. July 30 1998. "The Nature of the 1998 Agreement," Dartmouth College.
220. June 1998. "Theories of Nationalism and Its Regulation, Conference on the Causes of Ethnopolitical Warfare," Joint Meeting of the American Psychological Association and the Canadian Psychological Association, INCORE, Derry.
221. June 17 1998. "The Nature of the 1998 Agreement," University of Edinburgh, June 17 1998.
222. May 14 1998. "Consociation Plus: The Agreement," Queen's University Belfast.
223. May 7 1998. "Consociation Plus: The Nature of the 1998 Agreement," public lecture delivered at LSE
224. Dec 1997. "Nationalism and Its Regulation, Institute of Advanced Study, Princeton," Conference on Understanding Nationalism.
225. May 1997. "Elements of a General Theory of Right-Sizing the State," paper to the SSRC (USA) sponsored conference on 'Rightsizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders', New York.
226. May 1997. "The Treatment of National and Ethnic Minorities in the UK," Address to a (formally banned) Conference organized by the Kurdish Institute (Paris), in Ankara, Turkey, sponsored by the Danielle Mitterrand and the Olaf Palme Foundations, May 1997 - conference of European MEPs, academics and human rights specialists on finding a peaceful and democratic resolution for the Kurdish Question.
227. June 19-22 1996. "Electoral Systems and Political Institutions," European Union sponsored Conference on Somalia, Kenya, Naivasha, Kenya.
228. Feb & Mar 1996 & Jan 1997. "The Irish Peace Process," Nuffield College Oxford, Jan 1997, Cambridge Irish Studies Group, Queen's College, University of Cambridge, Mar 5 1996, and University of Salford, Feb 21 1996.
229. Dec 1996. "Parities and Disparities of Esteem in Ireland: The Treatment of National and Religious Minorities, North and South, Past, Present and Future," British Academy Conference on Ireland: North and South, Nuffield College, Oxford.
230. Jan 1996. "Meeting Somalis: Consulting on a Country's Constitutional Future," Address to UWO Political Economy Seminar Group, London, Canada.
231. May 1996. "Ernest Gellner's Theory of Nationalism," University of Notre Dame, USA, December 1995, Queen's University, Belfast.
232. Oct 1995. "Explaining Political Violence and Its Current Termination in Northern Ireland," Trinity College, Hartford Connecticut, USA; Duke University, USA, November 1995.
233. "State Repression and Ethnic Insecurity," Keynote Address to the Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism, London School of Economics and Political Science, London.
234. Mar 1995. "Explaining Political Violence and Its Current Termination in Northern Ireland," Cornell University, USA,
235. Mar. 1995. "The Framework Documents," University of North London, London.
236. Mar 1995. "Resolving Northern Ireland?" Grinnell College, USA, University of Notre Dame, USA.
237. Oct. 1994. "Three Prophecies and Three Predictions," Public Address to the Irish Association, Dublin.
238. Aug. 1994. "Determining Our Selves: On the Norm of National Self-Determination," International Political Science Association, Berlin.
239. Jan 1994. "Regulating National and Ethnic Conflict," University College Dublin.
240. Mar 1994. "Ernest Gellner's Theory of Nationalism," Political Economy Seminar, University of Western Ontario.
241. Nov. 1993. "On the Opsahl Report," National Peace Council, London.
242. Oct 1993. "The Case for Sharing Authority," book launch at the Institute of Public Policy Research, London.
243. Sept 1992. "The Political Management of Multi-Ethnic Conflict," University of Perugia, Italy.
244. April 1992. "The Future of Multi-Ethnic States and a Taxonomy of Modes of Regulating Ethnic Conflict," Human Rights Centre, University of Essex, England, UK.
245. Oct. 1991. "Interpreting Northern Ireland," Public Lecture, Irish Association, Belfast.
246. Sept 1991. "The Results of the JRRT poll in Great Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland," British-Irish Association, Cambridge, UK.
247. July 1991. "Nine Ways of Regulating Ethnic Conflict," Fides Summer School, Transylvania, Romania.
248. March 1991, "Modes of Regulating Ethnic Conflict," University of Uppsala, Sweden.
249. Feb 1991, "Explaining Northern Ireland," Public lecture delivered at Huron College, King's College and University of Western Ontario, the University of Alberta, the University of Calgary, York (Toronto) University, St Francis Xavier University Antigonish Nova Scotia, and Memorial University, Corner Brook, Newfoundland.
250. Feb 1991. "The Fall of Margaret Thatcher," public lecture delivered at the Universities of Western Ontario, Alberta and Calgary (Canada, February 1991).
251. Oct 1990. "An Taoiseach: The Irish Prime Minister," Political Studies Association of Ireland, Cork.
252. April 1989. "The Limits to Hegemonic Control: British and Irish State and Nation-Building Failure in Northern Ireland, 1920-1972," European Consortium for Political Research, Paris.
253. Mar 29-April 2 1989 "British Policy on Northern Ireland since Hillsborough," Joint Convention of British International Studies Association & the International Studies Association, London.
254. Sept 2 1988. "The Limits to Bureaucracy," International Institute for Administrative Sciences, Budapest.
255. April 1988. "The Limits to Coercive Consociationalism," Institute for Advanced Legal Studies, University of London.
256. Dec 1987, "The Abolition of Metropolitan Governments" delivered at a Press and Television Conference at the Barcelona Metropolitan Corporation.
257. Nov 1986, "Theories of Decentralization," Hellenic Agency for Local Development and Local Government, Athens.
258. Sep 1986, "Tales of Two Cities," London-Paris Group, Maison Français, Oxford, September 1986.
259. Jan 1985. "The Death of London Metropolitan Government," London-Paris Group, Paris 2.
260. July 1984. "The GLC, Tolstoy, and Nietzsche," Urban Politics Group, Political Studies Association, London.

## SAMPLES OF REVIEWS OF PUBLICATIONS

**Making Sense of a United Ireland.** Penguin Ireland, September 1, 2022

One of the Politics/Current Affairs Books of the Year, Business Post “*Making Sense of a United Ireland* by Brendan O’Leary. Several books about a united Ireland were published this year, but for intellectual firepower Brendan O’Leary’s wins first prize.” Business Post Dec 1, 2022.

“This is an important and superbly argued book, rich in detail, truth-telling but also hard-nosed. It is the first deeply considered exploration of how and why Irish unity should come about through a Border poll as allowed for by the 1998 Good Friday Agreement... it should be required reading for everyone—including unionists—who are interested in and concerned about the fate of this island (including their part of it).” Andy Pollak in the *Dublin Review of Books* 2022

“O’Leary’s book is an intellectual tour de force, the pick of a number of books on this subject in 2022.” Professor John McGarry, *Globe and Mail*, Nov. 18. 2022

“Distinguished academic Brendan O’Leary lays his cards on the table in *Making Sense of a United Ireland* ... an impressively researched and well-argued book ... detailed, and readable,” Martina Devlin, *Irish Independent*, September 26 2022

“a thoughtful and thought-provoking contribution ... convincingly analyses the mechanics of unification and the range of issues that would need to be addressed. He builds on his own extensive prior research and the research of others to present the first comprehensive manual of Irish unification... will appeal to a wide range of readers... O’Leary’s book will be mandatory reading for the public servants who must prepare for any votes on unification...”

“O’Leary’s book ... convincingly analyses the mechanics of unification and the range of issues that would need to be addressed. He builds on his own extensive prior research and the research of others to present the first comprehensive manual of Irish unification.” Professor Oran Doyle, *Irish Times*, September 3 2022.

“a *tour de force*, a highly readable, stylishly written, and essential book for anyone interested in a united Ireland, whether supportive, opposed or simply anxious about disturbing the peace we have enjoyed for 25 years. Irish Americans will particularly appreciate this as a handbook to be used as the Irish unity debate heats up over the next ten years,” Ted Smyth, *IrishCentral.com*, Sept 9 2022

“... the brilliant Brendan O’Leary’s, ‘Making Sense of a United Ireland: Should it happen? How might it happen?’” Brian Feeney, *Irish News*, 28 September 2022

“Several books have been written about this subject in 2022 alone, but for sheer intellectual firepower O’Leary wins first prize... *Making Sense of a United Ireland* is a highly impressive piece of research.” Andrew Lynch in *The Business Post* (Dublin October 14).

“Brendan O’Leary’s latest book is surely the most comprehensive answer to the questions posed in its subtitle—especially the second one—since the Brexit referendum of

2016 put the future of the United Kingdom on the table once again.” Daniel Finn, *Political Quarterly*, March 2023.

**A Treatise on Northern Ireland** Oxford University Press, 2019 (three volumes; paperback volumes 2020), one of *The Irish Times* Books of the Year 2019

“No reader should feel intimidated by Brendan O’Leary’s three-volume *A Treatise on Northern Ireland*. As accessible as it is erudite, it bears comparison with J.J. Lee’s classic study of failure, *Ireland, 1912-1985, Politics and Society* (1989), which secured a wide readership ... [A] magisterial survey of Irish history, that sparkles with lively interventions in key debates.... O’Leary performs a carefully controlled explosion on the argument that 18<sup>th</sup>-century Ireland was a typical *ancien régime*... [The] range of the political scientist’s reading, not only in his own discipline, but in Anthropology, Demography, Economics, and, especially, History, should bring a blush to the cheeks of many scholars who have written on Northern Ireland... [W]ritten with a deep empathy for the people of [the] place... The rich gift that is Brendan O’Leary’s *A Treatise on Ireland*...”

Breandán Mac Suibhne, *Irish Times*, Dublin, July 27, 2019

“The most prolific, perceptive and powerfully analytical writer on the north in the last 35 years, Brendan O’Leary, has just produced his magnum opus. At three volumes, *A Treatise on Northern Ireland*, is a rigorous analysis of politics and society here since the sixteenth century. It’s an encyclopaedic work of unrivalled detail and scope. It will become the standard reference for anyone interested in the north. It should be required reading for any British politician in the present circumstances, but certainly for any proconsul.”

Brian Feeney, *Irish News*, Belfast, July 31, 2019.

“O’Leary has written about Northern Ireland for thirty-five years, keeping abreast of every development, always pushing the politics of accommodation. The half million words that he has given us in this treatise is a complete synthesis of everything he knows, whether from his own research or from that of others. The detailed coverage is astonishing, the range immense. The book exemplifies best practice in social science and history, combining both disciplines, asking analytic questions of the historical record and widening the remit of social science - above all by looking carefully both at political calculations and the details of constitutional arrangements... Neither the judgement given nor the length of the whole should provoke fear, a refusal to open these volumes. For they are easy to read, at times having the pace of a novel. The writing is elegant, democratic and nicely acerbic on occasions when the behaviour of politicians is particularly egregious.”

Professor John A Hall, McGill University, *Dublin Review of Books*, October 1, 2019.

“Brendan O’Leary’s *A Treatise on Northern Ireland*, 3 vols (Oxford University Press, 2019) is a magisterial interdisciplinary work that will be an enduring resource for those interested in the history of Ireland, most especially issues relating to the legacy of colonialism, the North, the Troubles, and the peace process. Moreover, it deftly maps the Irish case onto wider debates in political science while illuminating the politics of deeply divided societies the world over. Immediately relevant to current discussions of Brexit and the prospect of a reunified Ireland, *A Treatise on Northern*

*Ireland* represents the very best of both history and social science in Irish Studies today."

The Judges in awarding the *James S. Donnelly Sr Prize for best book in History and Social Sciences*, American Conference on Irish Studies, April 2020

"Brendan O'Leary has written a great book and it is one book, albeit in three volumes. It is entitled *A Treatise on Northern Ireland*, with a clearly-intentional reference to David Hume's three-volumed *Treatise of Human Nature* (Hume, 1739–40) Like Hume, O'Leary intends this book as foundational; like him, he sees the passions rather than reason as the drivers of social life; and like him he gives most weight to empirical evidence and common sense. The latter point is important: despite his comparative theoretical acumen which sparkles through the book, O'Leary wants to temper theory with empirical common sense."

Jennifer Todd, *Irish Political Studies*, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1080/07907184.2020.1753421>

"O'Leary colors his work throughout with lively writing, moving past equivocation and pulling no punches in his assessments of participants or previous scholarship. He sees the disputatious state of Northern Ireland as the result of attempts to instill an Irish or British national identity among its residents....Although the cumulative length of this work might be daunting, the author has thoughtfully structured his books and chapters in a way that is accessible to both non-experts and specialists. Whatever the audience, this is a work of canonical importance for understanding Northern Ireland." -- M. J. O'Brien, Franciscan University of Steubenville, *CHOICE*

"His breadth of erudition provides an analysis which is often original and always stimulating, ensuring this monumental work a permanent place in Northern Ireland studies."

Seán Ó hUiginn, Ireland's former Ambassador to the United States, and head of the Anglo-Irish Division of the Department of Foreign Affairs, in *Northern Ireland Classics*, Irish Historians in Britain website, <http://irishhistoriansinbritain.org/?p=872> 2020

"This is the third volume of a remarkable and monumental three-volume *Treatise on Northern Ireland* written by Professor Brendan O'Leary, the world-renowned specialist on Northern Ireland...The whole *Treatise* and more particularly this third volume is a masterstroke. Brendan O'Leary perhaps more than ever before in his prolific writings, demonstrates his outstanding skills and style as an analysts of Northern Ireland's politics and society."

Philippe Cauvet, *Études Irlandaises*, 46-1, 2021

**Courts and Consociations** Oxford University Press, 2013

"Does a great service in integrating political and legal analysis, and in highlighting what is at stake in consociationalism. In doing so it forces us to wrestle with the deep tension between what is principled and what is possible," Tom Ginsburg, Review of Courts and Consociations by Christopher McCrudden and Brendan O'Leary, *Int'l J. Const. L.* Blog, Aug. 16, 2013, <http://www.iconnectblog.com/2013/08/review-of-courts-and-consociations-by-christopher-mccrudden-and-brendan-oleary-oup-2013>.

"Written by distinguished specialists in human rights law and political science, the book is a must-read for anyone interested in the effects that regional human rights courts may

produce on easily-breakable power-sharing bargains. It also provides an insightful analysis of contemporary consociations, which sometimes prove the most effective—or the only available—way to avert political chaos, violence, or armed confrontation in ethnically diversified countries." Michal Balcerzak, Review of Courts and Consociations in *Human Rights Quarterly*, 2014, Vol. 36, 962-66.

**Power-Sharing in Deeply Divided Places** U Pennsylvania Press, 2013

"A brilliant and highly readable volume presenting the state of the art on power-sharing—both the latest theoretical developments and updates on practical applications—strongly recommended!"—Arend Lijphart, Research Professor Emeritus of Political Science at University of California, San Diego

"A properly edited collection can set an agenda or raise debate to a new level. This book does both: provides greater clarification of the key terms, and analysis is extended massively through sections dealing with electoral systems, historical cases and an imaginative set of issues that confront contemporary power-sharing arrangements. Crucially, a powerful introduction is matched by a brilliant synthetic conclusion. Here we have the state of the art of this vital subject in a single volume."—John Hall, James McGill Professor of Comparative Historical Sociology at McGill University

"A cutting-edge collection of essays from some of the globe's leading authorities on consociational power-sharing, and from some of its emerging stars."—John McGarry, Canada Research Chair in Nationalism and Democracy at Queen's University, Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada

"An original, timely, and substantial contribution to the increasingly important field of study on consociational arrangements."—Christopher McCrudden, University of Michigan Law School

"[An] excellent expansion of the state of the art in power-sharing studies ... After Lijphart's own writings on the subject, this is the next place to turn for anyone studying democracy in divided societies," *Choice*, 51, 06, 2014.

"the book displays a remarkable intellectual coherence," Shaun McDaid, *Nations and Nationalism*, 20, 4, 2014, 826-8.

"of particular interest to scholars of conflict and post-conflict societies, peace-building practitioners, and international negotiators...the present volume hugely enriches the task in front of us." Adis Merdzanovic, *Swiss Political Science Review*, 20 (3), 2014, 511-14.

**Divided Nations and European Integration** U Pennsylvania Press, 2013

"*Divided Nations and European Integration* provides not only a sober account of the limited impact European integration has had on kin state policies across, and minority protection inside, international borders, it also offers an elegant explanation for variations that do not fit the stereotypical East-West divide. A must-read book for scholars in comparative nationalism studies, European integration studies, and international relations."—Rainer Bauböck, European University Institute

"An excellent, up-to-date, normative, and empirical approach to the rights of national minorities in divided European nations. This subject is linked to the improvement of political liberty and political stability of contemporary democracies and has not received the attention it deserves by scholars until recent years. This volume is certain to become a major academic reference work for any reader interested in democracy, nationalism and European affairs."—Ferrán Requejo, Universitat Pompeu Fabra

"These renowned authors, under the able leadership of Mabry, McGarry, Moore and O'Leary, innovate by bringing the areas of security studies and global justice to bear on the study of nations divided by state frontiers. In sharp contrast with the dominant literature in comparative politics and international relations, the contributors take seriously moral and political claims made by these communities. The volume advances a highly original approach to the question of how divided nations have been affected by European integration."—Alain-G. Gagnon, Université du Québec à Montréal

"An innovative and important collection. *Divided Nations and European Integration* offers a substantial contribution to nationalism studies and European studies."—Stephen Tierney, University of Edinburgh

"This volume is persuasive, articulate, and coherent, and is a great read for anyone who is interested in understanding identity dynamics, histories, and narratives of the cases examined. It can also be used as a textbook at the undergraduate or graduate level." Yasemin Akbaba, *Human Rights Quarterly*, 36, 4: 973-5

"In their 'Conclusion' McGarry and O'Leary go beyond merely evaluating the contributions and outline a 'tentative' explanatory framework of the 'variations in state policy toward 'internal' and 'external' minorities, one that does not rely on a misleading dichotomous contrast between west and east.' Backed by the previous chapters, it is a very convincing comparative analysis, which shall necessarily constitute a starting point for any further investigation.... While the main achievements of the volume lie in its coherence and comparative gaze, the detailed case studies —hardly any of which could be singled out as faltering in analytical depth and quality— will surely become staples on the bibliographies of researchers working on the respective geographical areas. The volume, therefore, is of value not only to scholars of nationalism, peace and security studies or international politics, but also to students searching for an entry point into political and area studies." Chris Moreh, *Insight Turkey*, 17,3: Book Reviews.

'In this new, rich, provocative and timely volume, John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, the kingpins in the debate on consociationalism, lead a team of scholars that challenges both the effectiveness of the EU approach to borders and the perception that border conflicts and "divided nations" no longer matter." Cathal McCall, *Journal of Borderland Studies*, 20, 1, 2015.

**How To Get Out of Iraq with Integrity**, U Pennsylvania Press, 2009

"Brendan O'Leary asks all Americans, whether they supported or opposed the Iraq war, to think very carefully about getting out. His tough-minded argument for withdrawal and his sober and wise design for an honorable exit deserve our closest attention," Professor Michael Walzer, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

"This passionate and perceptive book should be required reading for the new Administration," Martin Woolcott, Foreign Correspondent, *The Guardian*.

"Any book written by O'Leary (University of Pennsylvania), noted for his many scholarly studies on "right-sizing" the state via various federational structures, must be taken note of. In this book O'Leary employs his formidable intellect, directness, and wit to argue that Iraq should be "right-sized" by implementation of the 2005 constitution that O'Leary helped to write." Professor R. W. Olson, University of Kentucky, *Choice: Current Reviews for Academic Libraries*, 47, 1.

Comments taken from a book on the work John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, viz. R. Taylor ed., **Consociational Theory: McGarry and O'Leary and the Northern Ireland Conflict** (London: Routledge 2009).

Shane O'Neill, Dean of Social Sciences, Queen's University, Belfast, writes, "McGarry and O'Leary 'have without question produced the most significant body of academic literature on this conflict and its recent peace process ... McGarry and O'Leary's work has been hugely significant' (p. 87). '[Northern Ireland's] transition has required a core political vision as to how the future might be better than the past, along with a road-map as to how we might get there. No-one did more than McGarry and O'Leary to provide these essential ingredients. It is a very rare achievement for social scientists anywhere to be able to say, as these two now can, that one part of the world has changed much for the better in the recent past because it is now managed, broadly speaking at least, in ways they have suggested as offering the most suitable and secure basis for democratic peace and stability. That is something for which they should feel rightly proud' (p.88).

Paul Mitchell (London School of Economics) and Geoffrey Evans (Oxford U.) writes (p.146), 'There is no doubt... that McGarry and O'Leary have made the most sustained and imaginative contribution to adapting and developing internal power-sharing formats and procedures and harnessing these to a set of principles and mechanisms that hold out the best prospect of accommodating rival national aspirations'.

Liam O'Dowd (Queen's, Belfast) writes, 'McGarry and O'Leary have long been among the foremost advocates of consociationalism as a means of managing and resolving ethnonationalist conflicts ... unlike their ... critics, [they] can claim that their analysis has been confirmed by actual political developments in Northern Ireland (p.295) ...McGarry and O'Leary can plausibly claim that their analysis and prescriptions are in line with these developments and indeed have helped influence them – a pleasing outcome within the canon of positivistic social science' (p. 299-300).

Rupert Taylor (U. of the Witwatersrand) describes 'the scholarly work of John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary' as having 'gained hegemonic status' (p. 310).

Adrian Little writes: 'As befits their status in the academic study of Northern Ireland, McGarry and O'Leary have helped to establish a specific paradigm as the dominant one' (p. 262).

Reviewers of Taylor's book had this to say:

Kate Bloomfield writes, "None of the contributors successfully challenge [McGarry and O'Leary's] assertion that consociationalism, in the form in which it was introduced in Northern Ireland, was the best way to move the region out of violence and sectarianism to a period of peace and communication across sectarian lines," *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly*, Vol. 60, 3 (Autumn 2009), 381.

Jonathan Tonge writes, "This book ought to appeal to any theorist or empiricist with interests in conflict management and resolution; its impact will extend far beyond Northern Ireland. Effectively a symposium in print, this is one of the most engaging works available, a forensic examination of the contemporary salience of consociation in theory and practice. *Government and Opposition*, 2010, 290-3.

Stefan Wolff comments in a 2009 review article for the *International Studies Review* (2010, 10, 128-41), "McGarry and O'Leary's work] represents a significant further development of power sharing theory beyond Lijphart... What superficially might appear as a refinement of classical consociational theory, as developed by Lijphart in the 1960s and 1970s (Lijphart 1968, 1969, 1977) is in fact a significant theoretical advancement derived from careful empirical analysis... This is perhaps most obvious when it comes what McGarry, O'Leary and Simeon refer to as territorial pluralism. The specific emphasis on territorial autonomy in consociational theory is an important innovation in itself, but becomes more significant in McGarry and O'Leary's exploration of cross-border mechanisms and institutions of state-building."

**Terror, Insurgency, and the State: Ending Protracted Conflicts**, U Pennsylvania Press, 2007 (with Marianne Heiberg and John Tirman)

"...excellent volume..." Professor Ian Roxborough, *Democratiza*

"This is an important collection of case study examinations of major insurgencies. It examines longstanding insurgencies in Spain, Colombia, Indonesia, Lebanon, Israel, Ireland, Sri Lanka, Peru, Turkey, and Nepal. The authors wisely choose not to include a treatment of al Qaeda because the literature on that insurgency is burgeoning, perhaps to the neglect of the insurgencies treated in this volume that also use terrorism for political purposes. The scholarship of the expert researchers who contributed to this volume is particularly noteworthy because the book benefits from years of firsthand field research. The contributors rightly judge that 'labeling the insurgent organization on which they report simply as 'terrorist' blocks understanding and intelligent policy.' The book's individual chapters give superb background information, including the history, ideology, political goals, organization, membership recruitment, leadership, sources of support, tactics, and operations of varied insurgent movements. Included are insightful critical analyses of government counterinsurgency efforts. These case studies provide excellent substantive foundations for comparative analysis. The authors make numerous realistic and constructive recommendations for policy makers trying to mitigate or end persistent insurgencies and their concomitant terrorist attacks on civilians. Summing Up: Highly Recommended. Graduate students through practitioners" - R.L. Russell, National Defense University, *Choice: Current Reviews for Academic Libraries*

"What sets this study apart from others is its focus on conflict resolution; the essays, which are the product of extensive field research, aim to find a just end to hostilities through a close examination of the motivations of both the insurgency and the government involved. Although each conflict is distinct, the editors argue that there are universal truths that can be learned from these cases and used to reduce violence globally without sacrificing justice." Alice Rowan Swanson, *The Middle East Journal*, 62: 2, 367

**The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq**, 2005, paperback issued in 2006.

Professor L. Carl Brown, Princeton University, writes in **Foreign Affairs** that the book "adds up to a strong pitch for a viable Kurdistan within an Iraq federal state – or even an independent Kurdistan if the several contending forces in Iraq will not accept federalism. Much has happened since mid-2004 when this book went to press [but] the analysis and prescription presented here remain relevant," Nov/Dec 2005.

Professor Gregory P. Nowell, State University of New York, "This collection of essays is a core resource for anyone with a serious interest in Iraq and the U.S. military ... a good representation of the major issues confronting Kurdistan, Iraq, and their neighbors as of spring 2004... Notwithstanding my reservations, these essays deepened my knowledge of this critical subject area, and I learned even where I disagreed. I recommend the book as a whole and strongly recommend the excellent essays authored by Brendan O'Leary and Peter Galbraith," *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 2005.

Robert Olson, University of Kentucky, "When more than one hundred London-based diplomats, politicians, journalists, and international affairs analysts turn out for a discussion of a book, one knows that the book is timely and has something to say about pressing current international affairs and about its topic's potential for impacting regional and international geopolitical alignments. This is what happened on 31 May 2005 at Chatham House, a British think tank associated closely with the United Kingdom's Foreign Ministry. The book discussed was *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq*, edited by Brendan O'Leary, John McGarry, and Khaled Salih. O'Leary is a noted international authority on various types of governmental arrangements, such as federations, confederations, and plurifederations.... The principal theoretical projection of the book is in chapters 2 and 4, written or co-authored by O'Leary.... *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq* well deserves the prestigious turnout it produced at Chatham House, *Mediterranean Quarterly*: Fall 2005."

Professor Tim Dunne, University of Exeter, writes in the *Times Higher Education Supplement* 07 June 2005: "[an] outstanding collection" which "illustrate[s] the virtue of academic engagement with current predicaments."

"The first detailed scholarly study of the kind of federation that would best serve the interests of the Kurds and the other peoples of Iraq... Highly recommended," *Choice*, November 2005.

"Essays on types of federation present an excellent primer for Iraq's constitutional debates," Michael Rudin, *Middle East Quarterly*, Spring, 2006.

"Students of nationalism and ethnicity will appreciate its contextualization of ongoing debates regarding civic and

ethnic nationalism and constitutional design in divided societies. This volume is valuable to a variety of interests," Theodore McLauchlin, LSE, *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 6, 1, 2006, 105-7.

"This is a timely collection... a very useful and well-organized compilation of essays, the contents of which have in no way been overtaken by events since publication..." Robert Brenton Betts, University of Balamand, Lebanon, *Middle East Policy Council Journal*, xiii (Winter), 2006: Number 4.

Professor Wayne Bowen of Southeast Missouri State University writes, "While some of the issues addressed in *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq* have been overcome by events, the book remains a useful contribution to our overall understanding of Iraqi Kurdistan.... This book would be a valuable addition to college and university libraries, and should also find an audience among readers interested in the Middle East, US foreign policy, or nationalism." *Association for the Study of the Middle East and Africa*, 2008.

**The Northern Ireland Conflict: Consociational Engagements**, Oxford University Press 2004, with John McGarry

Professor Jennifer Todd of University College Dublin writes: "McGarry and O'Leary are undoubtedly the best technicians of consociational institutional design and they write with verve and robustness. They come to clear conclusions. They do not like ambiguity – and if these are sometimes proven wrong, they revise them... simply the best book on institutional design in Northern Ireland going...". *Field Day Review* (Dublin) Summer 2005, 255-7.

"Impressive array of scholarly work generated by John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary.... above all, rigorous, strategic, and persuasive," Aaron Edwards, 'Review Article: Interpreting the Conflict in Northern Ireland,' *Ethnopolitics* 6(1): 137-44.

Richard Bourke of Queen Mary, University of London writes: "For anyone with a serious interest in Northern Irish politics, it is certainly an obligatory read. It offers a convenient overview of the thinking of two of the leading academic defenders of 'power-sharing arrangements' in general, and of the 1998 Belfast Agreement in particular. Moreover, throughout these essays, the authors emphasize the extent to which Northern Ireland is a key resource for comparative political study. Cyprus, Lebanon, Kashmir, Kurdistan, Sri Lanka, Nagorno-Karabach and Kosovo are just some of the troubled political societies that are invoked by McGarry and O'Leary as potentially benefiting from comparison with the case of Northern Ireland. And since these chapters together amply justify that claim, it is fair to say that the book as a whole will repay attention not only from those concerned with Northern Irish politics per se, but from those with an interest in the wider issues of conflict, secession and 'ethnic' struggle generally... *The Northern Ireland Conflict* is nonetheless a timely, spirited and consistently argued compilation of articles which earnestly seeks to marry the virtues of comparative political science with political theory. Its particular achievement is that it presents a highly professional account of the applications of consociational theory to Northern Irish politics' in *Political Quarterly* 2005.

Richard Haesly, of California State University, describes the authors as 'world-renowned experts', and the book as

'magisterial' and 'indispensable', and as demonstrating 'extremely detailed and careful thinking about the myriad intricacies surrounding the ongoing conflict in Northern Ireland, as well as what this case can tell us about consociational democracy as a potential solution for societies wracked by seemingly intractable social divisions', *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*: Vol 5, No.1 2005: 55-7.

Aaron Edwards of Queen's University, Belfast, writes "[The] theory of consociationalism is the linchpin behind the impressive array of scholarly work generated by John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, whose normative and strategic institutional approach has become the most orthodox modern explanation of the Northern Ireland conflict...The ongoing debate between those, such as McGarry and O'Leary, who take a 'topdown' consociational view of politics in this deeply divided society and those, like Paul Dixon, Robin Wilson, Rick Wilford, and Rupert Taylor, who take a contrasting 'bottom-up' integrationist or social transformationist perspective, permeates the academic literature to such an extent that it can rarely be avoided by students of Northern Irish politics," p138. "[It] shows how theoretical reflection on broader debates can help us to delineate the key features of our own empirical case-study. Ultimately, that is the core value of the recent work by McGarry and O'Leary who apply their sophisticated theories to the Northern Irish experience in a way that is above all, rigorous, strategic and persuasive," 143-4. Aaron Edwards, 'Interpreting the Conflict in Northern Ireland' *Ethnopolitics*, 6, 1, 2007, 137-44.

Bill Kissane of the LSE writes in a review article on the book that, "McGarry and O'Leary have spent much of the last two decades arguing for the claims of the consociational model. Their combined and individual efforts were published in the collection of essays by Oxford University Press in 2004. Historically grounded, realistic in spirit, and determined to look beyond the British Isles for comparisons, these essays represent Irish political science at its best. Their grasp of the institutional and constitutional dimensions of the peace process is unequalled," "Power-Sharing as a Form of Democracy for Northern Ireland," *The Review of Politics* 68 (2006), 663–674 [quote on 670].

Chapter in T.V. Paul, G. John Ikenberry, and John A. Hall (eds.) **The Nation-State in Question**, 2003

Michael Collins of *Oxford Analytica* writes in EPN (European Projects Network), "The ideas advanced by Yack and O'Leary on national issues in 'The Nation-state in Question' are thought provoking and challenging. They may even persuade many of the need to adopt a 'go-slow' policy with regard to further European integration, for even if identities are constructed, they tend to be so over long periods of time. Nevertheless, perhaps Europe's future is a little brighter than their arguments imply."

Chapter in J. McGarry (ed.) **Northern Ireland and the Divided World 2001**.

"John McGarry and a distinguished group of comparativists have produced a volume important not only for scholars interested in the study of Northern Ireland but also for those concerned with ethnic conflict and nationalism generally.... In an insightful analysis of the 1998 agreement, Brendan O'Leary emphasizes the need for a consociational and

confederal settlement in such circumstances as the Northern Ireland conflict. He argues that one significant flaw in the agreement is the British Parliament's capacity to override its provisions, as it did in temporarily suspending the Northern Irish Assembly in the year 2000. O'Leary also takes issue with Arend Lijphart's work on the optimal electoral mechanisms within consociational frameworks," David. E. Schmidt, Northeastern University, *American Political Science Review* (2002), 96: 857-858.

"O'Leary's analysis of the Agreement is a major strength of this volume ... His conclusion is both straightforward and convincing," Prof. Sumantra Bose, *Nations and Nationalism*, (2002) 8, 4: 565.

• Chapter in Pippa Norris (ed.) **Britain Votes 2001**.

"But the chapter on Northern Ireland – by Mitchell, O'Leary and Evans – is excellent, providing substantial insights into the events in the one part of the country where major changes took place, and which have significant implications," Prof. Ron Johnston, *Party Politics*, 8 (September 2002).

**Right-sizing the State: The Politics of Moving Borders**, Oxford, 2001. (ed. with Ian. S. Lustick and Thomas Callaghy).

"This book with its two frameworks in an attempted synthesis, one by O'Leary focused on ethno-nationalism and the other by Lustick... must be evaluated as a new creative set of propositions of much value in the quest for solutions for states with inflamed borders," Prof. Ralph Premdas, *Nations and Nationalism*, (2002) 8, 4: 565, 568.

**Policing Northern Ireland: Proposals for a New Start**, Blackstaff, 1999. With John McGarry.

Barry White, journalist, "an imaginative blueprint [for police reform] ...it would be surprising if the commissioners [the Independent Commission on Policing] did not adopt at least a few of the proposals in [this] timely book," **Belfast Telegraph**, 10 April 1999.

Barry White of the **Belfast Telegraph** writing after the publication of the Patten Report on police reform, which was published five months after *Policing Northern Ireland*: "What really surprised me was the number of times Patten refers to a book by two academics, John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary, *Policing Northern Ireland*. Its summary makes 10 points, most of which find their way into the report in some form." "Patten...finding the gems in the detail," September 18, 1999.

Jim Cusack, "This book could be said to come at a crucial point," *Irish Times*, 17 April 1999. "[Police reform] is one of the key questions in the North, and this looks like a reasonable and workmanlike effort at answering it to everyone's satisfaction," *Books Ireland*, May 1999

Professor Paul Bew of Queen's University, Belfast: "In this thoughtful work, John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary discuss reasoned proposals to help create impartial, decentralized, demilitarized and democratically accountable policing services... Some of these ideas are worthy of very serious consideration," *Times Literary Supplement*, July 30, 1999, p.27.

Fintan O'Toole, journalist and writer, "lucid and insightful," *Irish Times*, May 9, 2000.

Darach MacDonald, "cogent, logical and well-documented...essential reading," *Ireland on Sunday*, 4 April 1999.

Professor Adrian Guelke of Queen's University Belfast writes in the *Canadian Journal of Political Science* (June, 2000), 'This short book by two of the best-known and most respected academics in the field of Irish political studies has already fulfilled what many would consider its primary purpose: influencing the report of the commission on the reform of policing set up under the Good Friday Agreement.'

Dr. Jonathan Moore writes, 'Written by two of the most impressive academic analysts of the Troubles [i.e., the Northern Ireland conflict], it is a concise and jargon free argument in favour of radical reform. The authors argue, highly persuasively, that conflict resolution cannot occur until the key relationship between the police and the minority population is sorted out... Chris Patten [the chair of the international commission on police reform] could do a lot worse than follow many of the ideas in this stimulating and balanced book,' *Irish Post*, 12 June 1999.

O'Leary's Chapter on Gellner in J.A. Hall (ed.) **The State of the Nation** (1998).

"the most comprehensive examination of Gellner's theory itself is offered by Brendan O'Leary," Prof. Margaret Canovan, *American Political Science Review*, 1999, Dec.

"Brendan O'Leary presents a magisterial critique in a fifty-page paper. .... This masterful essay, which every sociologist should read, is followed by several focused critiques," Pradeep Bandyopadhyay, *Canadian Journal of Sociology Online* January - February 2000.

"... Brendan O'Leary's chapter provides an excellent, overall discussion of Gellner's approach to nationalism," Josep R. Llobera, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 5, 4: 662.

**Explaining Northern Ireland**, Basil Blackwell, 1995. With John McGarry.

Endorsements.

Prof. Arend Lijphart, University of California, San Diego (and President of the American Political Science Association, 1995-96) writes: 'The authors are experts not only on Northern Ireland but on ethnic conflict in many other countries. The comparative perspective that they bring to their treatment of Northern Ireland gives it extraordinary depth and insight. It is a stimulating analysis not only for Northern Ireland buffs, but for anyone interested in the roots of ethnic conflict—the world's number-one problem in the 1990s and probably in the twenty-first century, too.'

Prof. Seamus Deane of Notre Dame University writes: '*Explaining Northern Ireland* lives up to its title. It is the most effective and intelligent analysis we have of the crisis itself, of its attendant discourses, of its possible resolution. This book deals astringently with much of the propaganda, melodrama and lies that have surrounded the Northern Ireland problem. It should be recommended reading for all those genuinely interested in finding a solution that is rational, humane and enduring. It is also a model of the kind of analysis that such conflicts need if they are ever to be understood or resolved.'

Prof. Ian Lustick of the University of Pennsylvania writes: 'In *Explaining Northern Ireland* McGarry and O'Leary strip away the misconceptions, dogmas and stereotypes that have stood in the way of so many efforts to understand and resolve the fate of this region. The authors write with wit and wisdom. This is a must-read book for anyone who has despaired of peace in Northern Ireland or who believes it is right around the corner.'

Prof. Michael Keating of the University of Western Ontario writes: 'This is a trenchant analysis and critique of the arguments around the Northern Ireland conflict. McGarry and O'Leary slice their way through the tangle of argument, prejudice, history and propaganda which surround the issue, while avoiding the traps into which so many others have fallen. They present a merciless critique of reductionist interpretations of the Northern Ireland issue from all parts of the political spectrum, continually bringing us back to the facts on the ground. This will be essential reading for anyone wishing to understand this tangled question.'

#### POST-PUBLICATION REVIEWS:

Professor Terry Eagleton of Oxford University describes *Explaining Northern Ireland* as an 'eminently judicious, splendidly level-headed study... [McGarry and O'Leary's] lucidity, thoroughness and formidable powers of analysis have put every student of the topic in their debt,' *New Left Review*, Fall, 1995: 130-136.

Professor Adrian Guelke of Queen's University, Belfast writes: 'This is the most important book to have been published on the Northern Ireland problem since the publication in 1990 of John Whyte's magisterial survey of literature on the conflict, *Interpreting Northern Ireland*... Attention to empirical details is combined with incisive analysis, an attractive feature of which are its many flashes of wit... A mark of their command of the Northern Ireland problem, as well as of the soundness of their judgment, is that despite writing in a cautiously optimistic vein at an optimistic time, the recent breakdown in the peace process has in no way undermined their analysis'.

Dr. Feargal Cochrane of Queen's University, Belfast describes *Explaining Northern Ireland* as being 'colourful, challenging and vigorous... extremely well written and accessible to both academic and general readerships... [and its deconstruction of Irish nationalism as being] well structured, intelligent, and reasoned, rather than reductionist, polemical and emotional,' *Irish Political Studies*, 1996, 183-84.

Professor Keith Jeffery of the University of Ulster writes that *Explaining Northern Ireland* is a 'valuable addition to the canon of works on Northern Ireland' and describes the commentary as 'relentlessly incisive,' *Times Literary Supplement*, September 29, 1995.

Dr. Chris Gilligan of University of Salford writes: '*Explaining Northern Ireland* is methodical, measured, academic... [it] will undoubtedly become a core text for undergraduate and postgraduate courses on contemporary Northern Irish politics', *Political Studies*, 44, 2, 1996: 360.

Prof. Robert McKim of the University of Illinois writes, 'The deepest and most insightful analysis I have found [on Northern Ireland] is provided by John McGarry and Brendan O'Leary in *Explaining Northern Ireland*,' in R. McKim and Jeff

McMahan eds. *The Morality of Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997: 273).

Dr. Jonathan Tonge of the University of Salford writes, 'an outstanding scholarly work is provided by McGarry and O'Leary (1995). This goes further than the seminal study by Whyte (1990) in proposing solutions. *The Politics of Antagonism* (1996), by the same authors, is also an essential read, in Bill Jones et al, *Politics UK* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001:651).

Dr. Marc Mulholland of Oxford U. writes, 'There are far too many good books on Northern Ireland to mention here. There are two excellent surveys of literature on Northern Ireland: Whyte's *Interpreting Northern Ireland* (Oxford: OUP, 1990) is judicious and humane, McGarry and O'Leary's *Explaining Northern Ireland* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995) acerbic and witty' in *Northern Ireland: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: OUP, 2000), 157.

**A State of Truce: Northern Ireland after Twenty-Five Years of War**, Ethnic and Racial Studies, 1995, Special Issue. (edited with John McGarry)

Dr. Dan Keohane (Senior Lecturer, Keele University) writes that, 'Readers of this special issue...will gain valuable insight into important changes in Ireland since the start of the present troubles [and that it] illuminates admirably many aspects of the conflict,' *Times Higher Education Supplement* February 24, 1996, 38.

**The Politics of Antagonism: Understanding Northern Ireland**, Athlone, 1993; 1996 2nd edition. With John McGarry.

Prof. Henry Patterson of the University of Ulster writes: 'This book seems set to establish them [the two authors] as significant influences, not only on the way Northern Ireland is taught in universities but on that small circle of politicians and civil servants involved in the formation of London's policies towards the region,' *Fortnight*, March, 1993: 47.

Prof. W. Harvey Cox, University of Liverpool, writes of *The Politics of Antagonism*: 'Books like this show political science at its most necessary,' *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 47, 1, Jan. 1994: 144-45.

Prof. R.K. Carty (University of British Columbia) writes: 'In this thorough, balanced and careful book, O'Leary and McGarry provide an excellent scholarly account of the politics of Northern Ireland...anyone wanting an explanatory introduction to ethnic conflict in Northern Ireland ought to be directed to this book,' *Canadian Journal of Political Science*, 1994, XXVII, 2: 32.

Prof. William Hazleton of Miami University, Ohio, wrote, 'O'Leary and McGarry marshal an impressive array of evidence in support of their 'analytical' history.....The impact of the statistical charts, maps, and diagrams is truly staggering,' *British Politics Group Newsletter*, Winter 1995, p.11.

Professor Arthur Aughey of the University of Ulster writes: 'intellectually impressive...sharp and unsentimental, informed and critical. This book should be read and thought about,' *Irish Political Studies*, 1994.

Conor Ryan writes: 'meticulous and scholarly...a valuable contribution to an important debate,' *Tribune*

Prof. Adrian Guelke writes: 'covers an enormous amount of ground...an intelligently argued, lucidly written, and thoroughly worthwhile contribution to understanding Northern Ireland,' *International Affairs*, 69, 3. (Jul., 1993), 599-600.

Prof. Paul Power, University of Cincinnati writes, 'a much needed political science evaluation,' *Irish Literary Supplement*, 1994.

Prof. Paul Arthur of the University of Ulster writes; 'rich in information and judgement...remarkably accurate...should be required reading on advanced undergraduate lists', *Public Administration*, 1994.

Prof. Lawrence McBride, Illinois State University, writes, "a carefully worded and reasoned text," in *American Historical Review*, October 1995, p. 1256.

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William Gutteridge describes this book as 'useful and remarkably comprehensive,' *Conflict Bulletin*, Spring, 1994.

Prof. Duncan Morrow sees it as: 'a valuable collection of essays on a wide range of national and ethnic conflict... a useful and readable introduction for all those interested in ethnic conflict,' *Fortnight*, Feb. 1995: 43.

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Prof. Duncan Morrow, *Irish Political Studies* 1994, 184-5 writes, 'The authors, important social democratic thinkers with a long record of interest in Ireland, have invested considerable collective intellectual energy in their comprehensive and complex proposal for shared authority... As an exercise in constitution-making, the plan is ingenious and largely convincing... What the authors have conclusively proved is that the complexities of condominium government are not unresolvable at the level of intellectual endeavour.'

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Merlyn Rees, former Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, 1974-77, wrote, 'I congratulate the editors for this valuable edition,' *LSE Magazine*, Spring, 1991.

Paul King writes: '[the editors] are to be highly praised for their efforts,' *Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, July 1992: 222.

Prof. Tom Gallagher writes: 'This is an incisive and well organised study,' *West European Politics*, Oct. 1991: 213.

Prof. Moxon-Browne of Queen's University Belfast writes that the book offers 'a mine of well-presented information... for any serious student of Northern Ireland politics,' *International Affairs*, July 1991.

Prof. Adrian Guelke of the University of the Witwatersrand writes, 'This is a most useful collection, especially for academics and students studying the Northern Ireland conflict, and it will deservedly find its way on to any serious reading list,' *Fortnight*, April 1991.

Prof. W. Harvey Cox wrote, 'This will be a most valuable tool for the Student and Teacher,' *Parliamentary Affairs*, Fall, 1991: 414.

Prof. Neil Collins of the University of Ulster writes: 'McGarry and O'Leary are to be congratulated for a most lucid presentation of the possibilities for progress in Northern Ireland.'

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**The Asiatic Mode of Production**, Blackwell 1989

Professor Ernest Gellner, University of Cambridge, wrote in the Preface of "this powerful, incisive and definitive study... Dr. O'Leary's book provides a superb and authoritative guide both to the logic and the history of the discussion, and it must, as such, be very warmly welcomed."

Dr. T.V. Sathyamurthy, York University, in *The Times Higher Education Supplement*, 30.3. 1990 wrote, 'Brendan O'Leary has written a comprehensive treatise on the AMP ... In chapter six, the author demolishes Wittfogel's work on 'Oriental despotism' with sanguinary gusto ... splendid scholarship.'

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Professor Ian Roxborough, SUNY, *Sociology*, 24, 4, Nov 1990, 744-5 writes, "This is a remarkable and impressive work of scholarship and erudition. Most importantly, the argument is presented clearly, with razor-sharp logic."

Professor Eero Loone, *Studia Philosophica*, II (38), Tartu (Department of Philosophy, 1995), 88-95 writes in his review article "O'Leary, Marx and Asia" "Marx provides us with an obvious counterexample to the generalization that all German academic writing is dull. In this respect, Brendan O'Leary is comparable to Karl Marx. O'Leary combines passion with academic study, and academic study profits from O'Leary's style of writing... O'Leary has succeeded in combining admirable clarity of writing with a natural ability to communicate his feelings ... A major virtue of the book under review is the introduction of solid scholarship into an area which has been for too long prone to sectarian disputes." P. W. Klein, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1991, XXXIV, 4, 365-6, wrote, "one cannot help being impressed by the sharp analytical wit ... employed in his unrelenting and cool endeavours to get at the crux of the matters at issue."

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Professor Martin Harrop, Newcastle University, *Political Studies*, xxxvi, 1, March 1988, 195-6 wrote, 'This book lays out the options in impressive style.'

Professor R. Finner, *Environment and Planning: Society and Space*, 7, 1989: 119-21 wrote, "an admirable text... thorough, conscientiously well-organized and presented."

Dr Mike Campbell, *Critical Social Policy*, 21, Spring 1988, 104-7 wrote, "Each of these chapters provides a very systematic, clear, lucid and, largely, accurate account of the different approaches, together with their major merits, and deficiencies. It is also the first time that all these approaches are to be found covered in one text in such an extended fashion. It is also a valuable contribution of the book that each approach is examined largely without polemic."

Professor John Dunn, University of Cambridge, *Government and Opposition*, 22, 4, 1987, 516-21 writes, "Dunleavy and O'Leary present a careful textbook treatment, very much in the modern social science idiom, of the politics of capitalist democracies...most of what they say is sensible and some of it quite deftly put."

'*Theories of the State* is the type of text that undergraduates reading social sciences (or simply taking one of them as an option) have been crying out for.' Dino Joannides, *West European Politics*, 1989, 12, 1, p. 211.

'The authors' contribution is an outstanding one and deserves to be read in detail... Dunleavy & O'Leary's work is an important contribution to the Social Sciences', Dr. Gil Shildo, *Journal of Interdisciplinary Economics*, 2, 3, 1988, 254-5.

Professor Peter Jones, Newcastle University, *Journal of Commonwealth and Comparative Politics*, 216-7 writes, "It aims to give 'the most compelling and clearest account possible' of each of the five theories, and it succeeds to a remarkable degree in achieving that aim."

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